DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Volunteers in Policing
Understanding the Role, Identity and Experiences of Special Constables

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Volunteers in Policing: Understanding the Role, Identity and Experiences of Special Constables

By

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis was composed by myself, that the work herein is my own, and this work has not been submitted either in the same or in different form, to this or any other University for a degree.

Graeme Anderson Dickson
Date: 07/08/2020

Signed: [redacted]

Summary of Contents

Placed at the intersection between policing and volunteering, special constables – unpaid, warranted, part-time, uniformed police officers within the United Kingdom – represent a unique, and underrepresented, figure within the research literature in both fields. This thesis explores the ways in which these volunteers construct their identities, perceive their roles, and experience the policing environment by reflecting on the features of volunteering and policing which frame and shape their volunteering activity.

This mixed-methods, comparative study enhances the understanding of the role that volunteer characteristics and motivations have on the way that volunteers interact with the organisations to which they contribute. By examining the motivations and experiences of volunteering within the Special Constabulary, this thesis demonstrates the ways in which different special constables – with different volunteering motivations and experiences of volunteering their time to policing organisations– construct their identities and understand their role within the policing organisations. By examining the special constables in such a way and by placing their volunteering characteristics at the centre of its data analysis, this thesis provides evidence which illustrates how these policing volunteers interact with, and perceive, the structural, organisational and cultural features of the policing environment, as well as the impacts that these features have on their understanding of the role they play within the policing organisation.

This analysis, which places the volunteers and their individual experiences in the policing context, is used to develop a typology and to characterise the different types of special constable that may exist in the United Kingdom. Using qualitative and quantitative data, this thesis puts forward the case that the Special Constabulary represents its own unique policing culture. This thesis considers how the experiences and management of the Special Constabulary could be improved by focusing on the special constable as a volunteer with unique volunteering needs, rather than focusing on them as a policing resource.

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Thesis

The Special Constabulary is a feature of contemporary policing in the United Kingdom, with entrenched historical roots. In recent years, scholarship around this group of uniformed, warranted, part-time, and unpaid police-officers has grown, particularly in England and Wales, emerging amidst a backdrop of contemporary policing challenges, and political and financial uncertainty in the United Kingdom. This study seeks to provide a developed understanding of the experiences that this group of volunteers have within different contexts of UK policing, by considering the different ways that special constables' experiences are shaped, specifically through their interactions with the features and structures of policing organisations.

This study is a collaboration between the University of Dundee and the Association of Special Constable Chief Officers (ASCCO), bringing together applied academic research with an association which seeks to understand and improve the experience of policing volunteers The study began with a central focus, to better understand the special constables volunteering within policing organisations across the United Kingdom, with the goal of enhancing the management and experiences of these volunteers. The collaborative context of this study's creation also gave the study an inherent comparative focus. ASCCO's interests are centred in the Special Constabularies of England and Wales, and with the University of Dundee's links with policing in Scotland, this study represents the first attempt to compare the policy and practice of the Special Constabularies north and south of the border, reflecting on their similarities and differences in the legal, cultural and practical contexts of policing.

This thesis contributes to an emerging body of work that explores the role and value of the special constable in the context of English and Welsh police services. It enhances the understanding of special constables within policing organisations and reflects on the way that the special constable's role is perceived by the volunteers themselves, and by the policing organisations they volunteer within. Whereas the focus of the emergent literature's discussion has been the contributions of special constables, the relationship between special constables and the policing environment remains underdeveloped. Which features of police volunteering, and which features of the police service impact upon the special constable's experience as a volunteer? In acknowledging the unique position of the special constable as both a member of the policing organisation and a volunteer, this study contributes to wider

understanding of both policing and volunteering, representing a unique contribution to the contemporary literature.

The study explores the Special Constabulary as an aspect of the wider policing organisation, which has been underrepresented in the literature and is only beginning to emerge as a focus of policing studies; for example, with Bullock and Millie's (2017) edited collection of research focused on the special constable. However, this research is developing in the context of a national decline in special constable numbers (Home Office, 2018; Police Scotland 2018). As such, the need to better understand effective practices of recruitment and retention of special constables has become the core rationale behind the body of research (Button and Wakefield, 2018; Britton and Callender, 2017; Callender et al, 2018). This study is positioned to make a meaningful contribution to the wider understanding of the factors that motivate special constables, to consider their role (and how they perceive this role) within policing organisations, and to consider how a better appreciation of these features of police volunteering can enhance the recruitment and retention of special constables. Furthermore, this growing field of research has been largely focused on the English and Welsh context of volunteering within policing organisations. The absence of a Scottish perspective from the research, and subsequent conversation, around the role of special constables leaves a noticeable gap. This study provides a new, much-needed perspective and voice within the growing British conversation around police volunteerism, which up until now has remained largely Anglo-centric. Additionally, this comparative research seeks to contrast the differences between police volunteering in England and Scotland, given the apparent similarities that exist between special constables north and south of the border. On paper, Scottish and English special constables perform functionally similar roles, however, the differences in structure between policing organisations in England and Scotland can give rise to varied experiences for these volunteers. This thesis provides examples of how the contrasting policing contexts in Scotland and England impact on the experiences of the special constables, and the impact that the different structural and organisational features have on the way special constables interpret their identity and role within the policing environment.

A greater understanding of the role of the special constable - and how they can enhance elements of policing - is beneficial, particularly at a time when changes within the national police forces, such as changes in funding and structure, put pressure on, and in some instances threaten, certain aspects of day-to-day policing. Authors have been vocal about the benefits for policing organisations of special constables, both in relation to the economic and resource

benefits they bring (Bullock and Leeney, 2016; Whittle, 2017), and in relation to other community-orientated benefits that they provide to the policing organisations in which they volunteer (Bullock, 2014; Millie and Wells, 2019). The pressures created by the national policy of economic austerity in the 2010s, at least in part, could be minimised by the introduction of volunteers in an effort to increase capacity and save money. The community-orientated benefits provided by special constables are particularly relevant in Scotland. Scotland's single centralised police service, The Police Service of Scotland (hereafter 'Police Scotland'), was formed in 2013 through the amalgamation of the previous eight regional police services by way of the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012. This reform was motivated by a desire to better distribute services and resources across Scotland. However, authors have commented on how the merging of police services in Scotland led to the displacement of local resources, and the decontextualization of policing across the country (Wooff, 2016; Terpstra and Fyfe, 2019; Terpstra et al, 2019). In the literature that surrounds the impacts of policing reform in Scotland, the special constable rarely appears. This thesis considers the Scottish special constable against this background. It explores the position of special constables, understanding their role as a link between police and community, and how they perceive community within their volunteering experience, to expand on the claims that policing organisations can utilise the Special Constabulary as a tool to minimise the distance between themselves and the public they serve (Dickson, 2019).

Lastly, this thesis is an exploration of the intersection between volunteering and policing. Reflecting on where the two meet helps to generate a new understanding of both, by exploring the effect of volunteering on the established cultures of police work, and by examining how those cultures impact upon those volunteers who choose to spend time within this organisational environment.

1.1 Research Aims and Questions

The aims of this research are to:

1. Enhance the understanding of the role and identity of special constables in policing organisations in Scotland and England,
2. Identify the features of policing organisations which have an impact on the way that special constables understand their role within policing,
3. Develop a broader understanding of volunteerism by reflecting on the experiences of special constables as volunteers within the policing environment, and

4. Suggest possible directions for the future development of the Special Constabulary that take volunteer experiences into account as a guiding force for improvement.

To achieve these aims, broad and exploratory research questions were formulated to ensure that a full range of volunteer experiences might be captured. The research questions that are answered in thesis are:

1. What are the characteristics, attitudes and motivations of the volunteers that join the Special Constabulary in Scotland and England?
2. How are the roles, identities, and experience of special constables as volunteers shaped by different features of police organisations in Scotland and England?
3. How can this thesis contribute to a broader understanding of special constables as volunteers?

Providing a unique and comprehensive understanding of the special constables' experience places this thesis at the junction between the sociology of policing and the sociology of volunteering. Exploring the policing organisation through the lens of volunteering not only provides the opportunity to critically reflect on the practice and values of policing organisations but also allows for the examination of volunteering in a unique context.

1.2 Outline of the Thesis

Chapter 2 explores the context of police volunteering in the UK. It explores the historical roots of the Special Constabulary, its development in contemporary police organisations across the UK, and places it within the political and financial context of modern British policing. The chapter highlights both the context of Scottish, and English and Welsh, policing and the features of these distinct policing regions that contribute to the experiences of the special constables within them. The chapter concludes by drawing attention to recent developments in the management of, and policy around, special constables, and the questions that these developments raise in relation to the special constables' experience of policing.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the academic literature that contributes to a deeper understanding of the special constable's experiences. This chapter first explores the emerging literature around the contemporary role and place of the special constable within police forces. It then reviews literature that considers occupational culture and explores the ways in which police culture operates to shape and form experiences of those working within it. Finally, the chapter examines literature about volunteering and volunteerism, with particular

attention to the literature around motivation to volunteer, and the impact of motivational factors on shaping and defining volunteers' experiences and expectations.

Chapter 4 presents an outline of the mixed methods approach used in the study. Details are provided of the design and distribution of a quantitative survey administered to special constables across Police Scotland and to one police service in England; the construction and delivery of the semi-structured, qualitative interviews conducted with special constables and members of the regular police force in both Police Scotland and the English study site, and; the nature of the ethnographic observation carried out in both study sites.

Chapter 5 covers the analysis of the quantitative data collected from the survey. It explores the demographic features that the survey has revealed and draw upon the relationships between these different demographic features to paint a robust picture of the nature of police volunteering in Scotland and England. As low response rates to the survey meant that more robust statistical analysis of the data was not possible, this chapter provides detail for initial exploration of the demographic and attitudinal differences that appear across the study participants. The chapter also highlights similarities and differences between the Scottish and English respondents in relation to the data collected.

The first of four substantive chapters informed by the qualitative data, Chapter 6 examines the perceptions of the special constable's position within the policing organisation. This chapter focuses on the portrayal of the special constable as a policing resource and shows that the role of the special constable is often viewed through the lenses of effectiveness, efficiency, bureaucracy, or economics. This chapter highlights the context of these perspectives as a feature of modern policing, before presenting the impact that this perception can have on volunteers' experiences. It continues by exploring the additional values that special constables attribute to their role within the policing organisation.

Chapter 7 explores the impact that the volunteers' motivations have on their construction of their idea of their place within policing, and the way that their desires impact on how they understand the policing environment. The differences between specific motivational differences – specifically those motivated by a desire to join the policing organisation as a career, and those motivated by more altruistic motivations – are analysed in the contexts of the policing organisations in which those special constables volunteer. Volunteering motivation is shown to influence and impact the special constables'

understanding and attachment to the role that they play within the policing organisation and highlights the inherent differences between special constables who are driven to volunteer by different motivational forces.

Chapter 8 examines the different features of policing that shape the volunteer's perceptions of the role that they play within the policing organisation. It considers the differences between policing structures in both study sites and reflects on the impacts that these features can have. Specifically, the differences between the rank structures of the Special Constabularies in both study sites, and differences in the levels of independence and autonomy afforded to volunteers in each of the Special Constabularies, are highlighted as two structural features of these policing organisations that influence and impact that special constable's perception of their role.

Chapter 9, the final substantive qualitative data chapter, examines the ways that special constables understand and interpret the values and beliefs associated with police occupational culture. Through this interpretation, this chapter presents the argument that the Special Constabulary represents a separate policing culture, with its own shared values and meanings of policing. These values are derived, but are distinguished, from those identified as inherent in the dominant accounts of persistent policing culture.

In Chapter 10, the survey findings from the quantitative survey from both Scottish and English respondents are combined to construct a working typology of special constables. The chapter examines the nature of typologies in social science research and gives a detailed explanation of the way in which the typology was formed. This enables a categorisation of these policing volunteers to facilitate a better understanding and illustration of special constables within the police service. In Chapter 11, the above typology is explored in relation to the findings earlier in the thesis, to generate profiles on the emerging types of special constables. The chapter outlines these different profiles in relation to the experiences that have been observed, allowing for a more detailed illustration of these types to be identified through the data gathered by this study, and generating a deeper understanding of the interplay between volunteer experience and motivation for special constables.

Discussion of the major emergent themes is explored in Chapter 12, which brings together the findings of the previous chapters to suggest ways in which the findings of this study can be used to enhance the direction and development of the Special Constabulary. This chapter reflects on the importance of a mixed-methods approach, considers the unique

cultural position of special constables within the policing environment, considers the special constable as a case study in volunteering, and provides insights into how the management and experiences of special constables can be enhanced across the UK. Finally, Chapter 13 concludes the thesis by reflecting on the research questions and the importance of these questions in UK policing. It considers additional questions that can contribute further to this study's contributions, and what the research needed to answer these questions might look like.

Chapter 2: The Context of Police Volunteering in the United Kingdom

This chapter provides a brief introduction to the context in which the Special Constabulary in the United Kingdom has developed and the context of their organisation's volunteers within contemporary policing. It considers the formation of the first 'volunteering' police constables and follows the development of the role of the special constable from its origins as a politically driven, strike-breaking policing resource used to maintain order, to the modern Special Constabulary that police organisations are more familiar with today.

2.1 Early Roots: Crisis Responders

The first appearance of something that resembles a volunteer police officer, in the United Kingdom, can be traced back to the parishes of the seventeenth century; these constables could be called upon in times of unrest or disorder, under the authority of 'parish vestries'; local ratepayers or churchmen who had statutory authority to call upon these officers to maintain the peace (Leon, 2017). Charles II, concerned with threats of civil disobedience, passed an Act of Parliament in 1673 that placed obligations on citizens to act as peace officers when called upon, making them liable to fines should any person who is called upon refuse to fulfil that duty.

Throughout this period, there are other examples of auxiliary or reserve police officers across the United Kingdom. Before the formation of the City of London Police in 1839, the marshals responsible for the policing of London were able to appoint 'extra constables' for the patrolling of the city streets. As policing developed across the United Kingdom, the geographically fragmented policing practices across the country often looked to the capital's policing for examples of best practice. As such, the concept of appointing additional resources in the form of extra constables may have led to them being adopted nationally (Critchely, 1967). These developments in London occurred alongside changes to the statutory powers afforded to local justices across England, by virtue of the 1673 Act, to swear in civilians as constables in times of 'crisis' – purposively to combat marauders on the Scottish border at the time (Leon, 2017).

Being 'summoned' to policing by a statutory obligation rather than by voluntary motivation is a stark difference to the policing volunteers in policing organisations today. However, the special constable –or 'special' – as it was so defined by the 1673 Act, was an emerging feature of the policing of civic disorder and unrest. Leon (2017) recalls that, by the

18th century, the utilisation of special constables in Manchester, Salford and Bolton to arrest, detain, and combat drunkenness, and 'uphold the respectability' of the parishes that they were assigned to, was common place. By the late 1700s, these constables were deployed as a 'multi-functional cure-all for policing ills' (ibid: 32).

By the mid-1800s, Palmer (1988) describes the attitude towards the Special Constabulary within this early period as an appreciative one. Robert Peel, often credited with the modernisation and professionalisation of policing within the UK, believed that in times of civil unrest, the Special Constabulary did more to maintain the peace than any other method of police power (ibid). This internal perception coincided with a sympathetic public perception of the volunteer police force among lower classes of that time. Palmer (ibid) describes large numbers of men from the poorest classes being sworn in as special constables to keep the peace during the 1815 London Corn Bill riots. At this time, the special constables were provided a stipend for their service. This represented a way for people to generate an extra income in times of hardship, fostering a sympathy towards law enforcement within poorer communities. Another reason for this positive perception was the sharp contrast between the special constables and the 'yeomanry', a sabre-wielding military cavalry, made up of gentrified country squires who were deployed in times of civil disobedience as a means to supress rioting populations (ibid). The strategy of mass recruitment in times of civil disobedience, alongside the additional payment and substance given to special constables, meant that many special constables came from the working classes, representing a more relatable, sympathetic means of policing civil disorder.

By the end of Britain's involvement in the Napoleonic Wars, this positive perception of special constables in the eyes of the working classes had been damaged following the deployment of special constables to disrupt protesters of the Corn Laws, which resulted in violent displays of police force. One particular display involving volunteer officers – the events of 'Peterloo' in Manchester resulting in the deaths of several protesters, including women and children – reflected badly on the use of volunteer officers as a tool of political control (despite much of the blame lying with the aforementioned cavalry). Leon (1996) argues that the use of volunteer officers in this dispute solidified the growing perception of the special constables as an extension of political interests.

The Special Constabulary Act of 1830 broadened the scope of recruitment, removing some restrictions, and only requiring that those who joined were attested by only 'one

credible witness'. During the agricultural protests of the Swing Riots in the 1830s, recruitment was difficult, as labourers and sympathetic gentry were unwilling to take up staves against a cause they, at least in part, supported (Leon, 1991). The large numbers of agricultural labourers that did join were coerced by employers, who threatened non-payment or redundancy should they not help protect their employer's interests.

The 1856 County and Borough Police Act was perhaps the most comprehensive development in legislation, which attempted to establish national guidelines and operating procedures for 'efficiency', framed around operational strength, and disciplinary control of the constables within local ranks. Special constables, who were counted in the numbers of operational constables, became integral in this national quest for efficiency (Leon, 2017). Furthermore, the Act established police forces– for the first time in some parts of the country – that ushered in frameworks of organisational preparedness for civil disturbances. These new provisions to deal with emergencies meant that special constables were not as relied upon to maintain peace and order as they once were. The emergence of paid, professional police constables meant that recruitment of volunteers took precedence over the recruitment of paid officers (ibid). The large numbers of special constables that came from poor or deprived areas moved to join the newly established paid police forces, which represented a source of more secure, though relatively low, income. This led to a further shift in the socio-economic makeup of those who volunteered, unpaid, with the police– those who were displaced by the outcomes of the agricultural Swing Riots, and the generally impoverished, saw joining the regular police force as a new way to earn a living. With members of the lower class moving to become regular constables, by the end of the 19th century, many more special constables were now from more affluent populations, further compounding the classist perception that the Special Constabulary represented the interests of the powerful, political classes, rather than those of the working man (Palmer, 1988).

The outbreak of The Great War resulted in increased recruitment of special constables across the country to fill the gaps created by the growing military. Their experience was not a good one. They faced terrible conditions, a lack of resources and appropriate clothing, and internal disputes with regards to authority (Leon, 1992). Their role in the Police Strike of 1918 also did not improve their experience; their continued service during this time meant they came to be seen by the professional police force as a strike-breaking force, not bound to the organisational features that regular officers were (Leon, 2017). In 1923, the Special Constables Act was passed by Labour MPs who shared this perception, fearing that their

deployment was a means for the ruling classes to oppress the working classes across Britain (Morgan, 1986). This legislation meant that Special Constabularies fell under the control of the chief constables within the local police force; although this was done to ensure that the special constables were limited in their deployment, particularly against striking and protesting work forces and trade unionists, the act also legitimised the use of special constables as a peacetime policing organisation. From this point onwards, the organisation and function of the Special Constabulary began to look far more like the contemporary volunteers of today.

2.2 Contemporary Specials: The Modern Special Constabulary

By the middle of the twentieth century, The Police Act of 1964 established that all police forces in England and Wales would have their own Special Constabularies. Similarly, in Scotland, auxiliary volunteers were identified as 'members of a police force' by virtue of the Police (Scotland) Act of 1967. Following the formation of Police Scotland, this status was maintained in the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012. Around this time, police services were encouraged to remove inactive special constables, which Leon (2017) reports caused a drop in number of special constables across the UK from over 67,000 in 1951 to just over 27,000 by 1973. This weeding out of inactive specials continued in 1976, following a government report into the functions of the Special Constabulary that prompted major concerns about the decline in the number of volunteers. This was exacerbated somewhat by the ongoing trend that volunteers were choosing to devote time to the Special Constabulary in order to later join the regular force (ibid). This concern was only compounded further by a governmental working party in 1981, which gave recommendations to offer a place within the Special Constabulary to those on the waiting list for the regular police. Following this, the policy of Conservative governments throughout the 1980s reflected the prevailing ideologies of the time, which focused on civilian responsibilities (Crawford and Evans, 2017). Ministers were of the understanding that 'at the very centre of idea on how to control crime should be the energy and initiative of the active citizen' (Patten, 1988; v-vi); during this period, civilians working within police organisations made up a third of total police strength (Jones and Newburn, 2006.

With volunteering so prevalent in the political consciousness of the time, the desire to learn more about the Special Constabulary, and how they could be utilised to improve community-relations, lead to Leon's 1991 nationwide study of special constables. She found that the gender and ethnic makeup of the Special Constabulary contrasted with the

predominantly white, male regular force across the United Kingdom (Leon, 1991). Leon's research also confirmed that the increasing number of recruits were motivated by a desire to become regular officers. Opposition from the Police Federation (the staff association of police constables, sergeants and inspectors) remained: some regulars maintained the opinion that the availability of special constables negatively affected regular officers' potential overtime, and voiced concerns about the effect of untrained volunteering on police professionalism.

Leon recommended that the role of the special constables needed to be reconsidered to emphasise the unique contribution they could make as members of the community and that they should be even more fully integrated with the regular force (Leon, 2017). Although enjoying the same powers as their regular counterparts, special constables' powers were limited to being exercised in their local areas or neighbourhoods 'in which they were appointed', as per the Police Act 1996. In England and Wales, this was amended in 2007, by the Police and Justice Act 2006, which extended their capacity to exercise power in every part of England and Wales, not simply in their local area. In Scotland, prior to the 2012 reforms, special constables' powers were conferred upon them by the Police (Scotland) Act 1967, in which they were defined as 'constables' and 'members of the police force'. Following the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012, this definition of special constables as 'constables', and the powers conferred upon them, was maintained. Special constables across the United Kingdom now have the same powers and responsibilities (conferred on them by means of the above legislation, and beyond the part-time, unpaid nature of their work) as those of regular constables. Both the 2006 Act in England and Wales, and the 2012 Act in Scotland, embedded the regulations of special constables into the same office as 'constable'.

The use of special constables over the last century has elicited several different responses from both the public and police forces that utilise them. In Scotland, the public has responded to the Special Constabulary in different ways, depending on geographical location: the opinion of city dwelling populations, such as those in Glasgow, hold an overwhelmingly negative attitude towards special constables, whereas populations in more rural areas, such as in the Highlands, see them as invaluable to service delivery (Davidson et al, 2016). Internally, criticism of the special constables from regular police officers tended to focus on the types of people who occupied the special constable role, objecting from a moral standpoint that those who volunteered to work with the police were there because they saw it as a source of

enjoyment or fun, rather than the regular officers who were there because of a sense of duty (Whitaker, 1979; Gill and Mawby, 1990). The motivations of people to become special constables is discussed later in this chapter, but regardless of the reasons behind why people volunteer to become special constables, regular officers found it particularly unfair that their ability to carry out overtime paid work was stifled by the presence of free labour that special constables provide (Whitaker, 1979).

It was not purely negative criticism expressed by regular officers; some saw specials as an as positive link between the police and the public (Whitaker, 1979; Caless, 2017) enhancing police representation and knowledge within the diverse communities across the UK. With more emphasis in recent decades being placed on shifts towards a more community-orientated style of policing (Rosenbaum, 1994; Bennett, 1994) the Special Constabulary represented a resource that could speak to the evolving set of strategies focused on bringing the police and the public closer together. Following Alderson's (1977) principles of 'communal policing', generating trust in police services requires the fostering of co-operative social action and acting on public disorder with the help of multiple actors within a pluralised police landscape. Special constables could aid in this task, functioning as a group of volunteers that may be more attuned to the unique characteristics of local areas, both geographically and culturally. Further still, the Special Constabulary could become an asset that contributes to the downward devolution of authority, which goes together with the principals of community policing (Kelling and Cole, 1996; and Tilley, 2008).

This point is perhaps undermined slightly when considering the perception of the special constables in the light of the work with which they have been historically tasked as part of their service. Their heavy presence during periods of public disorder, specifically throughout the General Strikes, has been claimed to have generated a politicised image of the Special Constabulary; they are seen as a tool that the state can employ to control the working classes and combat social disorder within a politicised context (Whitaker, 1979). How effectively could the Special Constabulary bridge the gap between public and police if the public did not trust them, or saw them as part of a repressive or elitist government? Similar accounts have suggested that this problem is not simply contained to the experience of English or Scottish divisions, with commentators highlighting the tensions between Catholic populations in Northern Ireland and the 'B Specials' – the Ulster Special Constabulary – that generated an atmosphere of fear amongst the population towards police volunteers (Mulcahy,

2006). This politicised image is perhaps the reason why police volunteering in Northern Ireland is no longer commonplace (ibid).

The Special Constabulary has also been identified as one component in several recent changes to police service delivery that has obscured policing's role within wider society (Jones and Newburn, 1998; Johnston, 2003). Expanding bureaucracy and managerialism within police forces is nothing new (ibid; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009) however, newly created functions for policing staff – such as the Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) – and evolving methods of assessing the effectiveness or 'success' of service delivery has led to a re-evaluation of the function and role that the police actually play within society (Crawford, 2012. Inserting special constables into the ever-increasing divisions of police labour, with their own sets of targets (relating to recruitment numbers, hours worked, task completed, etc.) may lead to a further complication of the already abstruse and complex understandings of the role that the police are expected to play (Caless, 2011 and Reiner, 2010).

Today, the Special Constabularies across the UK perform much the same role as they did 30 years ago. Despite the increased importance of the 'active citizen', which was expressed by governments during the 1980s and early 90s, the number of special constables has dropped significantly between the middle of the 20th century and the start of the 21st. The decline in the number of special constables in England and Wales that Leon had identified in 1991 was also experienced by police services north of the border. Fyfe (2010; p. 192) details the 'catastrophic' drop of special constable numbers across Scotland: from 7312 in 1962 to, 991 in 2003. The last decade and a half have seen fluctuations in the numbers of special constables recruited and retained across the UK, with numbers of specials in England, Wales and Scotland experiencing some positive growth – not least during calls for volunteers around large public events such as the 2012 Olympic Games in London and the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow (Home Office 2015; Home Office, 2014; Home Office, 2013; Scottish Government, 2013; Home Office, 2012; Home Office, 2011; Home Office, 2010). However, total numbers still pale in comparison to the numbers held by constabularies throughout the middle of the last century. More recently, trends in special constable numbers show that there is a general decline in numbers across Scotland (Police Scotland, 2019) and England and Wales (Home Office, 2019), often attributed to the ongoing pattern of new special constable recruits seeing this volunteering role as a steppingstone to securing regular employment, as mentioned above**.**

Perhaps the most heavily relied on justification for the contemporary deployment and utilisation of volunteer police officers across the United Kingdom is the added workforce strength and economic saving they represent. Further still, contemporary policing in the UK has been shaped by an economic turn towards austere policy and budgetary constraint (Barton, 2013; HMIC, 2014). Special constables represent a means through which policing tasks and objectives can be accomplished, providing additional resource whilst minimising the costs associated with full-time regular officers. Using special constables as a cost-saving resource has been met with mixed opinion. In 2013, in national strategy guidance for police services in England and Wales, the Association of Chief Police Officers (2014) highlighted the impacts that austere economic policy have had on policing, and supported the use of special constables as a cost-effective means of increasing capacity and reducing demand in policing. These benefits of the special constable, however, still fuel Police Federation opposition. Special constables, as a cost-effective resource, have been viewed in the past as placing a limit on the opportunities of regular officers' opportunities and access to overtime (Gill and Mawby, 1990; Bullock and Leeney, 2016). In a climate where many have criticised cost-saving exercises and austere policing policy as 'policing on the cheap' (Cosgrove and Ramshaw, 2013) there are concerns that enhanced recruitment and utilisation of the Special Constabulary is an inappropriate fix to a politically imposed problem.

With that said, special constables have a place within contemporary conversations about police demand United Kingdom. Despite their volunteer status, there is a great deal of space for special constables to contribute to the shifting nature of modern policing. This increase in citizen-centric forms of security has led to the Special Constabulary becoming a source of local knowledge and intelligence that police organisations can draw from, as well as a resource that can enhance the availability of visible police patrol. This latter point also touches upon the role that special constables can play as police volunteers in relation to community-orientated and local approaches to police work. Notably, the argument for the special constables' inclusion within the policing organisation has some political underpinning, with Conservative social policy encouraging individual civilian responsibility, encouraging all forms of volunteering, including within policing, as part of a shift towards the 'Big Society' (Roy and Buchannan, 2015; Millie and Wells, 2019; Rogers and Gravelle, 2011). Community policing succeeds when police services are more representative of that communities' values and demographics (Bowling and Foster, 2002; Yarwood, 2007). Police volunteering has been identified as a means by which these conditions can be achieved

(Bullock, 2014). This, coupled with the special constable acting as an active source of policing visibility, can serve to enhance public confidence in the policing (Bullock and Leeney, 2016; Tuffin et al, 2006).

Comparing the Special Constabularies of Police Scotland with the multiple police services across England and Wales highlights several differences within the frameworks that structure their experiences. Perhaps the starkest operational difference is the absence of a rank structure across Scottish special constables. Although not present in every Special Constabulary in England and Wales, it is common to find English special constables organised into rank structures which mirror, or loosely imitate, the rank structures of the regular officers they work alongside. Another structural difference between the two groups of special constables appears around the limitation imposed on their structure and activity within specific legal features of police work. For example, the laws of evidence in Scotland demand that there are two pieces of evidence that speak to the same fact for that fact to be admissible in court. For police officers, this means that accounts of specific events need to be reproduced by two different sources in order to prove their validity as evidence (Davidson and Ferguson, 2014). This feature of Scots criminal law, known as 'corroboration', has been the centre of many modern debates (Blackie and Nicholson, 2013). Amongst the arguments against its continued existence is that it places additional pressure on police officers in Scotland to ensure that their practices and procedures satisfy the requirements that it places on the collection of evidence. For special constables, this often translates as limitations placed on their ability to operate independently of regular officers whilst on shift – an issue that special constables in England and Wales (at the very least, within the police services in England engaged with throughout this study) do not encounter in the same legal context.

2.3 Conclusion

Special constables are a part of the long history of policing in the United Kingdom, and, in modern times, they occupy a unique place in the makeup of pluralised policing. Their effectiveness and role in the delivery of policing has recently become the focus of a number of academic studies, which seek to enhance the understanding of the role that they play within the policing organisation and how their experiences as members of these police services can be enhanced. As an economically advantageous resource, harnessing their contribution through effective management, and identifying where they can contribute to the improvement of policing practice, has become an attractive area for researchers interested in policing policy and service delivery.

This thesis seeks to occupy a space within this conversation, which can enhance the ongoing discourse around the use of police volunteers across the United Kingdom. It does so by placing itself at the intersection between volunteering and policing and exploring the ways in the practice of volunteering is impacted upon by the nature of policing, and the features of policing organisations, and vice versa. Exploring the ways that these two spheres intersect and interact through examining the experiences of these volunteers, and the ways that their contribution impacts policing practice, will enhance understanding in both fields.

The following chapter explores some of the themes within the literature that are encountered at the intersection between the volunteering and policing fields. Identifying literature that helps to explore the development of the role and identity of special constables, as volunteers and police officers, within the policing environment was of core importance to establish a foundation for this study. Chapter 3 unpacks the volunteering literature to further explore volunteer motivation, and what these motivations reveal about the nature of volunteering management and behaviour. It then examines the literature around police culture – a long standing feature of police research literature – and the features of this occupational culture that impact on perspectives of identity within organisational contexts. Finally, it considers the growing body of literature around police volunteering within the context of the United Kingdom and considers where this thesis can contribute to the ongoing discourse around the use of volunteers within policing organisations around the UK.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This chapter outlines the literature that has informed the context of this study. Firstly, this chapter considers the literature that discusses the role that motivation plays in shaping volunteer experience and expectations, and in the construction of the volunteer's perceived role within these organisations.

To contextualise this literature around the formation of volunteer's perceptions and understanding of roles for the purposes of this study, the chapter then turns to literature that concerns the features of policing linked to the construction of police officer identity, value and experience from the literature within the sociology of policing – more specifically, the rich body of literature on police culture. Understanding the ways in which the policing environment impacts on those embedded within it provides an important context for this study's exploration of police volunteering.

Lastly, this chapter considers the small but rapidly proliferating literature around police volunteering in the United Kingdom and considers the current themes which are emerging within this literature.

3.1 Motivation to Volunteer

Clary and Snyder's (1991) work focused on volunteering motivation from a functionalist perspective. The authors discuss the ways in which motivation impacts on every level of the volunteer's experience within their respective organisation. As a 'functional' psychological element of their volunteering experience, individual volunteers desire to see their motivations become manifest within their voluntary practice. The authors consider ways that the management and recruitment of volunteers is impacted by the perception of the volunteers themselves. When volunteers are faced with a scenario that confirms that their motivations to volunteer are justified, the level of satisfaction improves. The authors demonstrate by reflecting on the successful practical applications of motivation-centric policy.

Clary, and others, have presented a developed position for a functionalist understanding of volunteer motivations and have demonstrated the impact of those motivations on recruitment and retention (Clary et al, 1994; Clary et al, 1998). They have shown that when volunteer recruitment campaigns emphasise values and opportunities that are tailored to a specific motivation, the number of new recruits that match that particular

motivation increases. When volunteers believe that there is a real chance that their motivations could be fulfilled, the chances that they will join that particular organisation to realise those goals becomes higher. In volunteer management, satisfaction of volunteers is intrinsically linked to having relevant functional benefits become manifest, with relevancy being dictated by the motivations that the volunteer has for their initial volunteering. Commitment to volunteering, and longer lengths of volunteer service, are linked to the organisational ability to create opportunities for these functional motivations to be fulfilled and satisfied (Clary and Miller, 1986; Omoto and Snyder, 1995).

For Clary and Snyder (1991), volunteering behaviour is also shaped by the interactions between the volunteer, the volunteering organisation, and the situational context in which the volunteering activities take place. The structures around the volunteer dictate the ways in which their behaviour, driven by a functionalist desire to fulfil their goals, can be achieved. If they find themselves in scenarios where they are unable to have their motivations fulfilled, this can lead to frustration and, ultimately, higher attrition of volunteers within that organisation. It is the organisation's role, therefore, to facilitate opportunities for those volunteers to realise their motivations. Stukas et al (2016) confirmed this viewpoint and concluded that volunteer organisations should specifically target and retain volunteers who are motivated by an 'other-orientation' – that is, motivated to help others, or by altruism. Volunteering by its very nature is a helping activity and as such, these authors note that attracting and keeping volunteers intrinsically motivated by desires to help others makes this group of volunteers easier to manage and satisfy.

On this point, there is a generally accepted viewpoint that volunteers, as unpaid labour within any given organisation or field, are, to some degree, operating under the motivation of altruism regardless of any other, more egoistic motivations that they may also have (Wilson, 2000). This, however, has been disputed in contemporary reflections on the practice. Burns et al (2006) consider the nature of altruism within volunteer motivation, reflecting on the nature of rewards in relation to motivations and volunteer behaviour. Thinking about altruism as a value rather than as a core motivation, and drawing upon the functionalist arguments of Clary and Snyder (1991), they conclude all volunteers could in some way show signs of altruism, but that it in itself did not dictate volunteering activity or behaviour. Motivation, for Burns et al (2006), is complex, and functional motivations exist alongside other motivations to varying degrees. These different motivations relate to one another in a number of ways, and as such, multiple motivations can exist within the same volunteer. This makes managing volunteer

motivation more complex as identifying which motivations individual volunteers are more strongly associated with is not a straightforward task. The authors, however, did highlight that when volunteers are motivated by more egoistic motivations and seek direct functional benefits from their motivation – career opportunities for example – then the prevalence of value-driven and altruistic motivations is less likely to persist across those groups. There is also evidence to suggest that those volunteers with more altruistic motivations are also more likely to persist in their volunteer role for longer than those with non-altruistic motivations (Omoto and Snyder, 1995; Finklestein, 2011).

Understanding volunteering motivation as having functional benefits is a long standing feature of the work of Clary and Snyder, and their colleagues, as a means of explaining and exploring the desires of volunteers to devote their unpaid time to different causes, and the outcomes that such volunteering can bring to those individuals (Clary and Snyder, 1991; Clary et al, 1992; Clary et al, 1994). To better analyse and understand the functional motivations of volunteers in a research setting, Clary et al (1998) generated a tool for analysing the prevalence and interaction of different motivations across volunteers.

The Volunteer Functions Index (ibid) was a means to categorise and assess the types of functional motivations which may be identified within a group of volunteers. By examining the different functions that volunteering could play, the authors constructed six 'types' of functional motivations under which a range of different motivations could be categorised and explored. *Protective* motives amounted to ways of defending one's own feelings of safety, security, and fulfilment, specifically referring to psychological benefits and 'feel good' experiences in volunteering. *Value* motives represented those motivations concerning the expression of individuals' desires for helping, couched in the concept of altruism, and were an expression of the values that the individual volunteers determine to be important. *Career* motivations were linked to the improvement of a volunteer's job prospects, enhancing their opportunity through gathering direct experience within a given field and enhancing potential employability. *Social* motivations placed interactions, relationships and social ties as central to the desire to volunteer, thinking about volunteering as a social activity that brought others together – this also included some motivations linked to feeling persuaded to volunteer due to family or friend networks valuing volunteering highly. *Understanding* motivations represented those desires to enhance and gain new skill and abilities through volunteering, improving technical or mechanical knowledge of a certain practice, or a better knowledge of the way things are done in an area of interest. Lastly, *enhancement* motivations

were desires to help a person develop psychologically and obtain new ways of thinking about different elements of themselves, whether that be enhancing their empathy or gathering new ways to view the world around them.

This categorisation of volunteer motivations is particularly important for understanding motivation as a functional, psychological feature of volunteering, and the different sorts of outcomes that different volunteers may have for participating in volunteering. Other studies have relied upon the Volunteer Functional Inventory to interpret the relationship between different motivations, and to examine motivation in relation to sustained volunteering within organisational contexts (Penner, 2002) and in relation to the nature of volunteering as a 'voluntary' activity (Stukas et al, 2016). This understanding of motivation was developed by Finklestein et al (2005) in this study of hospice volunteers. They found a relationship between motivations and a role-identity model of volunteering, which focused on the perceived role constructed by individual volunteers in relation to their voluntary work. Motives were strongly related to the way that volunteers viewed their position within volunteering organisations; motives define what the volunteers understand as meaningful, valuable, or important about their contribution within that organisation. Motivation to volunteer lays down the foundations for the meaning that volunteers attach to their actions and acts as a frame of reference for both the interactions and inputs that the volunteers see as important. Volunteering motivation generates expectations, for the volunteers themselves in the way they expect their volunteering to function and for the organisation, in terms of the way they expect the volunteer to contribute or be managed.

Motivation, therefore, is not simply a predictor of volunteer behaviour. It shapes the experience of volunteers in an organisation; motivation contextualises, develops, and defines what the volunteers understand as meaningful and important within their volunteering activity. This meaning and importance flows not only from a functional dimension to motivation – that volunteers know what they want from their volunteering and seek out opportunities to make it reality – but manifests in the form of expectations; what they should expect to do in their volunteer role, and what they should expect from the organisations they work within. These expectations operate within the context of the organisation which the volunteers contribute to, building a role-identity which the volunteer perceives themselves to be playing, defining their worth and value within that volunteering context (ibid). These elements of volunteering motivation and identity contextualises volunteer's experiences; these experiences do not exist in a vacuum. In the context of this study, special constables

may have their own motivations and desires which bring them to the policing organisation, but the police organisation plays a part in shaping the role that the special constable constructs for themselves. Features of the policing organisation which impact on the values that these volunteers internalise and express are, therefore, part of this emerging narrative about the role of police volunteers and the way they understand their worth within the organisation.

This study, in its unique position between policing and volunteering, seeks to build on these core concepts in volunteering literature by considering them within the context of the policing environment. This environment is defined not only by the features of the policing organisation's infrastructure and management, but also by the shared values that permeate the organisation that define and shape the experiences of those who work within it. Understanding who volunteers interact with this environment demands discussion of the literature around the values of the policing organisation and how those values define the experiences of the police officer; namely, the substantial work around the 'policing culture'.

3.2 Police Culture

Understanding the impacts of the policing environment on the individuals embedded within it has been the focus of the literature around police culture for the past 50 years. As the literature progressed, authors began to explore the complex and varied nature of police culture, moving from the monolithic understanding - a singular police culture which pervaded all police officer experiences - towards an more fragmented understanding of police culture, based on individual interaction and understanding of the field (Chan, 1996; Muir, 1977; Reiner, 2010). For the purposes of this study, understanding the ways in which different actors experience policing culture could help to provide a more developed understanding of the role and experiences of special constables as an actor within the policing structure.

Skolnick developed the concept of the 'working personality' of police officers, by drawing upon three core features of the policing environment: authority, danger, and efficiency (Skolnick, 2011). For Skolnick, these features of the policing environment represent difficulties or tensions that need to be managed by individual police officers. In order to do so, police officers develop a way of engaging with the environment to make sense of their work. These features contribute to an isolating effect of police officers from the general public, and as a result, the police officer develops rules and practices within the scope of their identity as a police officer to understand and make sense of that isolation (Skolnick,

1977). Isolation from the general public is a core feature of police officer identity and personality. Ankony (1997), and Perrot and Taylor (1994), have used the example of community police work to explore this further. In community policing, where the integration of police officers with their community is crucial, there can be difficulty for the police officer to become part of that community due to the isolation that they experienced as part of this working personality. As Skolnick described it; 'to the extent that policemen share the experience of receiving hostility from the public, they are also drawn together and become dependent upon one another' (Skolnick, 1977: 21).

This personality, following the findings of Bennett and Greenstein (1975), is an expression of the police officer's value orientation. These authors considered the nature of the values of the police officers, and whether or not the personality of police officers was in fact a result of the officer's interaction with the policing environment, or if there was a predisposition among individuals regardless of their identity as an officer. What the authors found was that although there does exist a predisposition to the values of the police officer's working personality prior to their involvement with the policing organisations, that predisposition did not account for the observed difference between groups of police officers and non-officers. The working personality, they concluded, was a result of the occupational interaction and socialisation and not simply an expression of pre-existing and shared values between individuals and the policing organisation. These findings indicate a congruence between the values of individuals and the police environment, it is interaction with the features of the policing environment that shapes the working personality and identity of the police officers.

In 1996, Janet Chan contributed to emergent discussions of police discrimination in Australian police forces and explored the nature of the rules that governed the ways police officers interacted with their working environment. Chan considered the limitations of the existing theoretical literature around police culture, criticising its lack of appreciation for the police officer's own role in the formation and adoption of the values and norms that make up that culture, and its failure to demonstrate how those values and norms interacted with the environment in which that police work took place. As a result, the existing theories of police culture, she argued, did not allow for comparisons of police culture across different organisations – nor even between police stations within those organisations and jurisdictions – because of the inability of the contemporary theory to situate place and individual officer's agency into the theoretical model.

Using the cultural frameworks constructed by Sackmann (1991), Chan explored the nature of police occupational culture and considered the ways that police officers, as individuals with agency within the policing structure, developed knowledge of police practices and values during their time within the organisation. The knowledge they develop allows them to navigate the rules and practices which policing organisations have developed, and as they progress through the policing organisation and gather more experience, their knowledge expands and changes. Theoretically speaking, Chan challenged the idea that there was a static set of values that persisted across all police officers, regardless of place or policing context.

Chan drew upon Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992 writing around reflexivity in the investigation of social relations and constructs, and Bourdieu's concepts of 'habitus' and 'field' (Bourdieu, 1984; 1990) as a means to explain the interactions between the agency of individuals and the structed environment with which those individuals operate. 'Habitus' equates to the rules and dispositions that govern the interaction between the individual, and the 'field' that they find themselves within. Chan contextualised these concepts within police officers' experience of policing; when the police officer encounters any scenario, they consider their past experiences, the rules with which they are governed, and their understanding of the world generated by their occupational knowledge (the field) and navigate their encounters by relying on their habitus directing them to act. This habitus acts as the source of cultural knowledge for police officers, as individual agents within the policing organisation, constructing an understanding of the mechanisms, traditions, and values within the context of their own occupational experience.

Whereas previous theoretical models of police culture were linear and universal in nature, Chan suggested that the structures of policing dictate the sort of knowledge that police officers would be exposed to and would determine what police practice and interaction would look like. Chan's theoretical model placed the police officers themselves as the driving force behind how that culture could be interpreted, with culture, understood as knowledge (habitus), being a feature or tool that they could use to make sense of their work and environment (field).

Summarily, Chan's theoretical model for police culture demanded that understandings of police culture shrug off the idea that they were monolithic structures that dominated the thoughts and actions of police officers. Policing culture, for Chan, was a means through

which the police officers made sense of their work and interacted with the reality of being a police officer. Consequently, if police culture was a personal expression of values and norms, shaped by individual officer's relationship with the policing environment – and not by some intangible, predominant, and inevitable set of rules – then police culture could be changed through education and reform.

Chan's theory was influential, particularly in the United Kingdom where this work coincided with desires to change policing practice in the face of claims of discrimination and poor relations between ethnic minority groups and the police (O'Neill, 2016). Loftus (2009) considered Chan's work in her examination of British policing post Lawrence Report, and concluded that where the 'field' of policing has changed in modernity, there has been a change in the cultural knowledge of police officers with regards to many of the traditional values often associated with police culture – mainly in the form of their changing attitudes to different forms of discrimination. Loftus acknowledges that this cultural shift does not exist at all levels and across all officers. Chan's position (1999), that the police officer is an individual agent within the structures of policing who plays a role in the construction and formation of cultural knowledge, therefore holds true.

Loftus's work (2009), as an examination of British policing culture, considered the prevailing traditional values and practices of policing in the United Kingdom, and whether or not those features could be identified within the cultural knowledge of police officers in contemporary policing. Loftus concluded that there were two understandings within the modern occupational environment. These two attitudinal understandings centred around the ways that police officer responded to diversity. Loftus' work contributed to a broader understanding of the ways that police officers perceive their role and discuss their identity. Talking with individual police officers, and exploring their perception of police work, can help to identify cultural knowledge in a more meaningful way than simply through observing policing practice and, in doing so, can highlight the sort of behaviours or values that can be changed through education.

Police culture is not an overarching force to which police officers are beholden to act in a specific way. It is a product of the knowledge that police officers construct through their own perceptions of the role that they play within the organisation. Features of police culture emerge from the interactions between police officers and the organisational structure they are part of, and interpretation of those interactions framed by the values of those individuals, and

the identity that officers perceive themselves as playing within the policing organisation. By combining observed policing practice with the perceptions of policing held by the police officers themselves, police culture can be understood as an evolving set of shared principles within policing organisations, shaped by the different contexts within which policing takes place.

Following this theoretical perspective of the development of occupational policing culture, the time special constables spend within the policing organisation will impact on their understanding of their role, through the interactions they have with other police officers, and with the structures and features of the policing organisation itself. This study seeks to enhance the understanding of police volunteering by examining the impact that these cultural features of policing may have on special constables that contribute to the growing literature around police volunteering in the UK, which this chapter considers below.

3.3 Police Volunteering Literature

In 2014, Ian Pepper, against the backdrop of regular officer recruitment freezes in England and Wales, explored the role that police volunteers played in the facilitation of policing services during this time of lower officer uptake The links between recruitment and volunteering in the context of policing is a central theme for understanding the experiences of the modern Special Constabulary. His research focused on the aspirations of special constables and whether they desired to use their volunteering as a steppingstone to join the regular police service. Drawing upon the findings of Gaston and Alexander (2001), Pepper situated his study against the generally accepted trend that many of the special constables were motivated by a desire to eventually become regular officers. They concluded that 73% of serving special constables chose to volunteer to enhance their chances of becoming a regular officer, which made the Special Constabulary fertile ground for encouraging prospective recruits for the regular police service. Gravelle and Rogers (2010) acknowledge that as the motivations of volunteers change, so too should the management and recruitment strategies that surround them, paying particular attention to the one-size-fits-all approach that police services in England and Wales employed around the training and development of volunteers. By ensuring that special constables received uniform training geared towards those special constables who desired to join the regular service, and drawing on Dhani's (2012) findings that 16% of new police officers recruited in 2012 were previously volunteers, the Special Constabulary can be thought about as a 'training ground' for potential recruits (Pepper, 2014).

Following 20 special constables over the course of six months in an English police service, Pepper collected a range of data from the participants in the form of mailed questionnaires and the self-reported data collected at the end of their training to become a regular officer, that related to their motivations and aspirations for volunteering. He concluded that the motivation to participate as a special constable to enhance career opportunities was widespread and considered that this self-reported commitment to their original motivations could be harnessed to enhance the recruitment practices across English and Welsh police services. By using the Special Constabulary as a training ground, he determined that police services could potentially reduce costs of initial training of regular constables. This could also reduce the challenges presented by new regular officer's need to assimilate their training and knowledge into a practical working environment (Dominey and Hill, 2010).

This function of the Special Constabulary was not free from the author's own criticism. Pepper highlights the potential dangers that seeing these volunteers as potential recruits alone could limit the community representativeness of this group of policing volunteers. This was an issue highlighted by Bullock (2014), who considered the perspective that the Special Constabulary could provide higher levels of community representation by encouraging the participation of volunteers from within underrepresented communities. In this 2014 paper, Bullock argues that, following a period of public criticism of police representativeness (specifically in the wake of the Scarman (1982) and Macpherson (1999) reports), there was an attitude that the Special Constabulary could have been a potential source of enhancing representativeness within police services. Bullock asserts that despite being more diverse than they had ever been previously, police services still do not accurately or proportionally reflect the ethnicities, nor the genders, of the communities they represent.

Bullock's paper (2014) reflects on the nature of the motivation of special constables and the likelihood that special constables from BME backgrounds utilise the Special Constabulary as a means of 'testing the water' before choosing to become regular officers. This follows the examples given by Gaston and Alexander (2001) that motivations play a pivotal part in shaping the nature of the volunteer's role within the policing organisation. The definition of the special constable's purpose seems to be generated in relation to the motivations and perceptions that the volunteers themselves have when they consider their volunteering practices.

Motivation was central to another of Bullock's studies, this time alongside David Leeney, in 2016, examining the nature of balancing the 'amateur' and 'professional' identities held by policing volunteers and the problems that this raised in their management. This work enhanced the contemporary knowledge around the utilisation of special constables and how motivation shaped volunteer experience beyond the accepted notion that special constables were regulars-in-waiting. The authors' empirical study of an English police force focused on the perceptions of the special constables themselves and reflected on the various features of their management and deployment in relation to their motivations and the conflicting identity between professional police officer and amateur volunteer. This study drew attention to the disparity between police organisations' expectations and definition of the role that the special constable should play within policing – a visible presence in community/local approaches to policing (Tuffin et al, 2006) – versus the reality of the special constables' own expectations for their volunteering.

Acknowledging the importance of special constables feeling valued within policing organisations, Bullock and Leeney (2016) highlighted the need for volunteers to be managed around the volunteer's own perceptions of what they perceived to be important. However, ensuring that the needs of these volunteers is understood and appreciated must be done in the knowledge that the special constable performs much the same role as regular officers whilst on duty. As such, volunteers need to be held to the same standards of accountability and professionalism that would be expected of a regular officer. Oversight and supervision within policing organisation demand a systematic means of ensuring that that officers maintains specific standards. This revealed an important delineation between the policing and volunteering worlds. Whereas volunteering organisations often do not place a great deal of emphasis on oversight and subsequently are reported to have poor track records when it comes to volunteer management (Wilson and Pimm, 1996), management and oversight in policing is hierarchical, structured and disciplined. This juxtaposition, of placing volunteers into a disciplined rank structure where accountability is held to a high standard, is a source of tension. Bullock and Leeney (2016) highlight an example of that tension; the National Policing Improvement Agencies (2008) recommended that special constables should not be pressured into over-volunteering to enhance retention. However, without frequent exposure to policing practice, there is a fear that special constables will not develop competency around different policing tasks, nor develop trust between themselves and other officers.

Whittle (2014) also comments on the tensions in the management policy and strategy around special constables. His study of an English police service was couched in the context of considering the value for money that special constables represented. At the time of writing Whittle acknowledged that there was an increase and expansion of the observed Special Constabulary and that management strategies had not shifted to match their expansion. As such, Whittle wanted to draw attention to the nature of volunteering management practices and to how a better understanding of volunteer's motivations and aspirations could improve the contribution of special constables – specifically in an economic sense. Whittle drew attention to the motivations of special constables, as predictors of length of service and the perceived experiences of being part of the Special Constabulary. For Whittle, by managing around the motivation of volunteers and ensuring that their experiences fit their motivations and expectations, then there was a higher probability they would remain as volunteers for longer. Longer service, he acknowledges, means getting more out of the special constable as a resource, and as such, represents more value for money. Lowering rates of attrition through improving special constable's experiences was tied to a higher economic benefit for policing organisations.

To achieve this higher economic benefit, policing organisations would have to acknowledge the motivations of special constables and ensure that development and management structures were developed with volunteer expectations in mind. Following Gaston and Alexander (2001), Whittle argued that acknowledging the contribution of special constables would improve special constables' feelings of worth and satisfaction, which would in turn lead to better rates of retention. Ensuring that the special constables enter the policing organisation feeling supported (Alexander, 2000) and are supported throughout their volunteering by ensuring that the tasks they are faced with and the experiences they have align with their expectations and motivations, enhances their experience.

Callender et al (2018) echoed the need for more attention to be paid to the management and support structures for special constables in their reporting of findings from a national survey of special constables in England and Wales. Placed within the context of the recent general trend across the United Kingdom of falling numbers of special constables, the paper examines the findings in the light of the reasons why special constables may choose to leave the organisation as a potential means of stopping that attrition. The authors acknowledge that that little has changed in policing organisation management strategies despite the concerns raised – albeit sporadically – by policing researchers over the last three

decades. They explore multiple facets of the organisational landscape of the Special Constabulary and highlight the need to foster a change in the strategic understanding around the Special Constabulary rather than just focusing on operational and tactical adjustments. The highlights an important turn in the special constable literature, representing an attempt to highlight the impact that the structural features of the policing organisation have on the experiences of the special constable. Beyond management and support, rank structures – present in some Special Constabularies in England and Wales but absent from their Scottish counterparts – have been argued to have an impact on special constables' morale (Britton and Callender, 2017; Ramshaw, 2019).

Particularly of interest is another reflection on the motivations of special constables, and the role that understanding motivation can play in enhancing the experiences of specials. Britton and Callender (2017) refer to the 'career' special – a special constable that is not motivated by a desire to leave their volunteering to become a regular officer, that represents a longer-serving and committed special. This sort of special constable, also identified by Whittle (2014), represents better value for money due to their longevity within the Special Constabulary, they also mitigate the high turnover and attrition rates that the over-recruitment of special constables who are motivated by a desire to become a regular constable, can lead to (Bauer, 2005).

Taken together, the recent literature around the Special Constabulary has focused on the need to improve management strategies with the view to enhancing the experiences of special constables, enhancing diversity within policing volunteering, and reducing the rates of attrition by making volunteering appear more satisfying and meaningful. This is often argued alongside a better understanding of the motivation of these volunteers and it is argued that understanding their motivations can allow policing organisations to better construct strategies to improve these elements of the Special Constabulary.

3.4 Conclusion: Taking Stock of the Literature

As a departure point for this study, the literature generated a theoretical basis for exploring the features of the Special Constabulary across the United Kingdom. Volunteer motivations play a fundamental role in shaping volunteers' behaviour, the perceptions they have of their role as volunteer, and the effectiveness of their management within organisations. This study builds upon what is known about volunteer police officers' motivations, to examine the way that motivation relates to other features of the volunteers'

experiences and their own reflection of the role that they play within the policing organisation. It explores the nature of motivation as a factor in the construction of the volunteer's sense of belonging and association with the policing organisation. The literature has highlighted the role that motivation plays in constructing the perceived identity of volunteers within the organisations they are part of. Volunteers motivations have been identified across a range of functions, and this thesis seeks to explore the ways in which these motivations impact on the volunteers' role, by placing volunteer motivation, and the desires and expectations of the volunteer, at the heart of this thesis's exploration of the special constable's experience.

Police culture is an inherited knowledge of policing practice that individual officers develop and utilise to make sense of their role as a police officer. This study expands current understandings of police culture as it impacts those who operate within it, by reflecting on the ways that special constables – as police *volunteers* – experience this culture. By exploring the features of these police cultures and by reflecting on how volunteers interact with, and are impacted, by these features, this thesis expands the discourse and starts new conversations around the importance of navigating organisational cultures in the management of volunteers. By considering the way that these cultural features of policing impact on volunteers, particularly in relation the volunteers' individual characteristics – such as motivation – this study provides new perspectives on police culture and how its values come to be understood and shared by those within policing.

This thesis finds itself in the unique position within the emerging body of research into police volunteering as it seeks to explore these volunteers in a cross-border, comparative perspective within the United Kingdom. By considering the impact of the different organisational features of police services, both in Scotland and in England and Wales, on the special constables who volunteer within them, it contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the experiences of police volunteers. With these reflections in mind, the following chapter outlines the methodology used to gather data around police volunteering.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter reflects on the data collection methodology and on the considerations that prompted the choices of the data collection methods and outlined the research methods selected for this study. Selection of the study sites for the research is discussed, before explaining the detail of the research methods used and the way that the data was organised post-collection.

4.1 Constructivist Methodology

Constructivism determines that *meaning*, and *truth*, are created through the interactions between individuals and the world. To understand the way in which special constables develop the perception of their role, identity, and experiences as police volunteers, it is vital to understand the way they interact with the features of policing they volunteer within. The survey employs an interpretivist methodology, acknowledging that the Special Constabulary can only be understood by turning to the special constables themselves, and reflecting on the ways they interact with the structures of the policing organisation (Gray, 2004, Williams and May 1996). A greater understanding of way that the special constables experience their volunteering and the way that they assign meaning to the environments they work within would allow a better understand the 'reality' of police volunteering, and the meaning that special constables attach to their volunteering role.

To maintain a constructivist position in this research and the selection of the research methods this study adopted the early position that the Special Constabulary as a structure that could be empirically understood; a framework of rules, patterns and regulations that existed as part of the policing organisation. From this position, data could be collected which could generate a deeper understanding of the social and cultural implications of that structure. This could be done by examining the 'unique, individual and qualitative' (Crotty, 1998: p. 68) aspects of the special constable's own experiences.

As is the case with constructivist and interpretive methodology, no single research method holds more validity than any other; it is the pragmatic selection of the most useful research methods that produce the best interpretation of the subject in question (Kratochwil, 2008). The data generated in this study needed to allow for the definition and analysis of the observed and experienced features and structures of the Special Constabulary; to allow for the interrogation of those actors who interacted and engaged with those features and structures,

and enhance understanding of the meaning that these actors assign to the features of that structure.

The first research question of this study focused on characteristic features of the volunteers themselves, which directed this study to adopt some quantitative methodology which could capture a range of demographic information from large groups of participants. However, answering the second question - to interrogate the impact that the various features of policing have on the volunteers demanded a much more individualistic approach. A more qualitative approach would allow for reflection of the of the volunteers' experience and interaction, and the meaning which was derived from them from the perspectives of the volunteers themselves. As such, multiple mixed methods of data collection were used to better illustrate and understand the difference between Special Constabularies which would be selected for the study, and to explore a range of different experiences that these volunteers may have during their time within the policing environment.

4.2 Mixed Methods Research

Mixed methodologies provide researchers with a means of collecting different types of data and information on one subject, not only enhances understanding and improves the validity of the claims made about that subject (Denzin, 1978), but ensuring that complex, diverse and contextually sensitive information is not lost in the process (Flick, 2011). As highlighted above, understanding the contextually specific, personal experiences of the special constables within the study is crucial to understand the impact that experiences of the policing organisation and environment have on individual volunteers. Multiple and mixed methodological approaches also widen the familiarity of the study across different audiences. The application of different methodologies, from different methodical 'traditions', allows individuals from different backgrounds more opportunity to recognise the benefits of the study, and engage with its content (Maxcy, 2003; Watson, 1990). This study has a range of potential audiences, ranging from policy audiences to the volunteers themselves. As such, any means by which the outcomes of the study can be more easily communicated across different audiences was welcomed.

The exploratory nature of this study, which seeks to interrogate the impacts and experience of volunteers within different policing contexts demanded the collection and analysis of data from a range of different sources. In constructing this research, methodology which allowed for the identification of volunteers with shared characteristics, motivations and

values was crucial to achieving the research objectives. These characteristics, motivations and values also needed to be considered within the contexts of the policing environment within which the special constables were volunteering. The research therefore sought to analyse and integrate two types of data – a quantitative data set which could be used to generate an accurate understanding of the sorts of individuals that made up the Special Constabulary and the characteristics they shared; and a qualitative data set that places individual volunteers within the context of the police environment, unpacks their experiences of policing, and contextualises the impacts that the policing environment has on their values and their role within the organisation.

The need for the qualitative data to better illustrate the quantitative data was a primary focus for the research design, which resulted in a methodological structure designed to provide an illustrative, explanatory system of interrogating the data (Crewsell et al, 2003). This was not only methodologically appropriate for the accurate examination of the research questions; it presented a unique opportunity to combine quantitative and qualitative methods within policing research. The nature of mixed methods research of this type, as it is often claimed, is to provide the accurate measurement of the characteristics across different groups through quantitative methods. and the contextualisation of rich reflections which can be provided by qualitative methods. For this study, quantitative data alone would result in a decontextualization of the data, and without taking a more holistic, qualitative approach (Gelo et al, 2008) this study would be disconnected from the real-world contexts in which the findings of the research could be applied. Providing findings that could be used by policing organisations to enhance their practices also required reliability and potential replicability – which is often hard to achieve in a purely qualitative study (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011. Mixed methods research was the solution to these problems.

This was not without its methodological reflections at the point of research design. Following Greene et al (1989), the purpose of the mixed method data collection was ‘complementary’ (p. 259), in that the integration of qualitative and quantitative data is to provide an enhanced understanding of both sets of data. For this study, that meant providing a more accurate illustration of the experiences of special constables that could not be achieved by relying on quantitative or qualitative data analysis alone. As Bryman (2016) considers, this means of collecting and analysing data allows for a more robust means of contextualisation, and allows the statistical and demographic data to be illustrated and characterised by the qualitative data to improve the usefulness of the findings from both data analyses. The above

stance also leads to another research design feature – that the data collection was sequential in design : to first collect the quantitative data, to analyse the data, and then to use that analysis as a basis for which the qualitative data can be collected, in a sequential fashion. Although the data would be collected sequentially, and thus at different stages, the methods of data collection were designed in tandem, to ensure that measures and scales employed by the quantitative data collection and analysis could be compared alongside the thematic reflections which were uncovered through the qualitative analysis (Creswell et al, 2003) . Plano Clark et al (2008) have highlighted that ensuring that the parallel construction of quantitative and qualitative instruments ahead of data collection allows for a more efficient exploration of the data, and in turn, this allows a more detailed illustration in the integration and analysis of the data collected.

The processes of operationalising qualitatively framed data into a numeric variable can often result in awkward translation of data from one form to another. This study, for example, collected data about abstract and intangible concepts relating to subjective values, thoughts, and feelings of individuals. These cannot simply be reduced to inclusive categorical variables which are readily compared with numerical scales and measures. It was important that the collection of data did not suffer due to trying to maintain comparability between the two sources of data. Therefore, ensuring that the core concepts that were to be integrated could be collected by both quantitative and qualitative instruments in a parallel way was designed into the instruments and schedules used in the data collection, but this was done in such a way as to allow degree of freedom across the data collection methods. This would allow the data to reveal findings which could not necessarily be anticipated at the stage of research design. This later provided some difficulty during analysis and resulted in some qualitative findings emerging as more ‘standalone’ findings rather than analysis which could be comfortably integrated with the quantitative findings. However, this did not prohibit the important and novel findings which the mixed methods approach revealed. Despite some of the qualitative data becoming ‘lost in translation’ when trying to place the two sorts of data together, it did not undermine that data, and allowed the qualitative data to speak for itself, without reflection on the quantitative data, when it needed to do so.

The use of a multiple and mixed methods approach represented a pragmatic solution to answering the above research questions and could bring together the most appropriate methods of data collection and analysis (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Johnson et al, 2007). Moving from the quantitative analysis to the qualitative analysis represented a sequential exploratory design (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011) that met the requirements which the research

questions laid out at the beginning of the design process, and generated a natural progression and narrative means of analysis which guided the analysis of the data

4.3 Comparative Research

This research requires that the experience of special constables across the United Kingdom be examined, and it is true that the structures and application of the Special Constabulary is not uniform across the United Kingdom. At the national level, the structure and frameworks around the Special Constabulary in Police Scotland are not the same as those in place in the different forces across England and Wales. As mentioned previously in Chapter 2, Scottish special constables, and those serving in English and Welsh Special Constabularies, experience differences in terms of rank structure, and are given varying degrees of autonomy and responsibly, determined by the structure and legal features of policing in the places where they volunteer. Beyond the national differences, each force across England and Wales has their own individual scope towards the management and implementation of their Special Constabularies although unified under the policy direction of government and the College of Policing. It is far more useful to think about the Special Constabulary in the plural, that there are multiple Special Constabularies across the United Kingdom that all have their own discretion over the application and organisation of their volunteer officers.

Understanding how police organisations in Scotland and England structure their Special Constabulary, and the differences in their policy, treatment and utilisation of their special constables, allowed a rich perspective on the ways that the structures of police work and the policing organisation impact on the experiences of the special constables within them to be gathered. Comparative research allows for the exploration of these structural impacts, providing various contexts in which this subject matter can be discussed and investigated.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

Selecting data collection methods, as outlined above, aimed to construct a quantitatively informed picture of the state of special constable volunteering across the United Kingdom that could then inform a more qualitatively focused data generation to contextualise volunteer experiences. The section below outlines the data collection methods selected for this study and gives a brief explanation for their selection.

4.4.1 Surveys

To generate data that could be used to construct an informed picture of the demographics and distributions of the special constables within the study sites, this study

sought to engage with large amounts of demographic and statistical data, from a large population of respondents, across large geographic areas. Writers on research methodologies point towards surveys as an appropriate means of collecting this type of data (de Vaus, 2014). Surveys allow researchers to construct targeted and focused questions alongside the inclusion of more open-ended forms of questioning. Closed questions with specific answers can be asked to generate quantitative information relating to demographic categories such as age, gender, and ethnicity (Moser and Kalton, 2017). Open, multiple choice, or ranking-based questions allow for the respondents to provide data that can help gauge general attitudes and opinions towards specific, targeted issues (Fink, 2003) such as volunteering motivation or enjoyment of volunteering activity. Furthermore, free text answers allow the respondents to add context to their answers, qualifying responses to questions in their own words (ibid).

A survey was constructed that could generate a better understanding of the characteristics of the Special Constabularies in each of the study sites, and places that data together with categorical and contextual data about the nature of the respondent's volunteering experience, and their attitudes to and thoughts about the way in which the Special Constabulary is managed and distributed (Appendix A).

The data produced by a survey can range, as above, from binary, statistical information and ordinal, numerical data, to nominal, categorical information, allowing for quantitative comparisons to be made between respondents, whilst maintaining a degree of contextually relevant information through data collected by open, free-text questions (Fink, 2003). This mixture of quantitative and qualitative information, however, demands multiple methods of analysis. The quantitative data can translate into codified inputs, which can be inputted to statistical analysis software and compared directly with each other.

4.4.2 Interviews

Knowing policing organisations are built up of people operating within a specific and unique culture (Crank, 2014; Shearing and Ericson, 1991), semi-structured interviews presented a means through which data could be generated about the personal experiences and attitudes of actors within the police service. Semi-structured interviews allow for the exploration of personal points of view and experiences of participants, with interviews constructed around the topics that researchers identify as important to the study's research questions, whilst allowing the participant to lead the interview towards features that they feel are important and need to be expressed (Longhurst, 2003). It is a useful tool to gauge the more

nuanced elements of concepts that are shared amongst the participants, revealing important, often undiscovered, features of those concepts that may have not arisen by using more rigid and structured forms of interviewing (Dunn, 2005)

The semi-structured interviews allow for the data analysis in this study to 'colour in' these outlines of the landscape of police volunteering that the survey, and the quantitative data, helped to illustrate. By exploring the finer details of the relationship between the volunteers and organisations, and by exploring the feelings and opinions of the volunteers and the regular officers they volunteer alongside, this study would be able to discover potentially previously undetected features of the police volunteering that the survey could not provide on its own.

Semi-structured interviews place a greater importance on the researcher's ability to shape and guide the discussion and the flow of the interview as they, by design, digress to topics and subjects that arise naturally through discussion. Although this is a key beneficial feature of these types of interviews, the interviewer needs to be able to identify which of these tangents produce meaningful and useful data, and usher the interview back to relevant shores should it drift wildly off track (Longhurst, 2003). The use of interview schedules to manage these interviews is often deployed, as it was in this study (Appendix B).

Further, interviews allow for one-on-one interactions between the researcher and participants, which is not only a more focused and personal environment in which to generate detailed and nuanced data around particular topics (Dunn, 2005; Rubin and Rubin, 2011), but also allows for communication between the researcher and participants that can help foster healthy attitudes towards the research across participants. This aided in building a rapport with participants, which was important for later stages of the data collection, discussed below.

4.4.3 Observations

Following the interviews, gathering data on the way in which the special constables are managed, operate whilst on shift, and how they fit into the regular patterns of police work would help better reflect on the answers given by the volunteers in the interviews. As Loftus (2009) reminds us, as discussed in Chapter 3, understanding the experiences of actors within the policing organisation requires reflection on both the perceived experiences of those actors, and the observed features of the organisation within which those perceptions are constructed.

For this purpose, gathering first-hand information through observing special constables on duty represented the most valuable way to generate this data, which complemented the data gathered from the interviews with the same special constables. Observations are an effective

way to understand the environments in which populations interact; they allow researchers to gather contextual information about the nature of organisational features that impact those populations. In policing research, observing police officers carrying out their general duties has been relied upon as a way of evaluating the work that those officers do and the impact that the police organisation has on those individuals. Skolnick (2011), Manning (1977), Smith and Gray (1985), Skolnick and Fyfe (1993) and O'Brien-Olinger (2016) have all relied on this long-standing ethnographic tradition in policing studies to investigate the relationship between the police and democratic justice; the internal organisation and socialisation of police officers; the relationship between the police and the spaces and communities they operate within; the use of coercive force within police work; and police attitudes towards race, respectively. Extending this ethnographic tradition as a method to understand the role and experience of special constables does not stray too far from the already established norms of policing research.

4.5 The Study Sites

This section explores the first conceptual hurdle in the exercise of the selected data collection methods: the selection of the study sites within which data could be generated. The nature of the research questions and the need to investigate features of police volunteering in relation to the personal and context-specific experiences of the volunteers involved, meant that selecting fewer study sites, with different institutional structures and policy around volunteering, would produce more meaningful data than it would trying to extend the reach across more study sites (Kothari, 2004). Using deliberative sampling informed by the need to find contrasting structural features between policing organisations, study sites were selected based on structural, policy and management differences, allowing for more diverse examples that could be contrasted at the point of comparative analysis.

4.5.1 The Scottish Study Site

For the purposes of the survey, the central management and coordination of the Special Constabulary in Scotland meant that the facilitation of a large, national survey was possible. However, for logistical reasons and to ensure that local management and policy remained consistent across the special constables participating in the study, a single division of Police Scotland was selected for the purposes of interviews and observations. The study site that was selected was chosen because of its geographical diversity, which included an urban centre, rural areas, and mixed urban-rural areas. This approach helped facilitate and contextualise the data collected. This division was also selected because of the availability of active special constables volunteering on a regular basis. This division, which is referred to as

the ‘Scottish Study Site’ in this thesis, had between 60 and 80 active special constables participating in duty at the time of field observations and interviews. With a jurisdiction of over 3500 square miles, the site has a number of large urban centres, suburban areas around the larger towns as well as multiple rural police stations serving a number of smaller villages and taking command of initiative around rural areas and national parks. At the time the study was conducted, this division of Police Scotland employed around 1000 police officers, serving an estimated population of around 400,000 people.

4.5.2 The English Study Site

The survey, due to difficulties in the organisation of the survey’s distribution (considered below), was distributed to one police service in England. This also served as the study site for the observations and interviews. The study site was chosen because of the similarities in force size and proportional special constable numbers, to the Scottish study site. With around 1,400 employees, and between 130 and150 special constables at the time the study was conducted, the proportion of special constables to employees in the policing organisation was well matched to the Scottish study site. Additionally, although it was nearly twice the geographical area of the Scottish study site, the population was around double that of the Scottish study site as well. The urban and rural makeup of both study sites were relatively similar, with large urban centres, smaller towns, and rural police stations serving a number of more diffuse villages and countryside areas. These similarities made the study sites ideal for comparing the different approaches that English and Scottish police organisations take to structure their volunteers’ experiences. It is hereinafter referred to as the ‘English Study Site’.

4.6 The Surveys

The surveys were conducted to generate a range of demographic and attitudinal information of the special constables with this study. Within those survey sites, the only qualification for participation was that each participant was a member of the Special Constabulary and that they volunteered at least four hours per week, or sixteen hours per month, in the role of special constable. Due to the nature of the research and the research questions, there was no reason to limit the respondents by any other criteria, and the chosen qualification was constructed based on the obligation placed on volunteers in most of forces across the UK to complete a minimum number of hours a week to maintain their role as special constable. Apart from this, there were no restrictions placed on the respondents for

participation in the survey to ensure that information was collected from as many of the special constables in both study sites as possible.

Participants were informed of the survey by the police force they served in, through official channels of communication often used by special constables to receive information from coordinators or shift sergeants. Ethically, in order to maintain anonymity for the special constables participating in the survey, it was not appropriate to receive a list of identifying information about the special constables that volunteered within each of the policing organisations – the furthest this study could go to gather this sort of 'identifiable' information was officer numbers, which was devoid of any specifically identifiable information. As such, the survey was sent to all special constables on the contact list held by coordinators and responses were sorted based on the demographic information answered to in the survey responses.

A pilot survey was conducted in one policing organisation in England and Wales to ensure that the questions were answerable and could produce the sort of data that they were designed to produce. Also, it allowed for an evaluation of the selected form of electronic distribution and its appropriateness for this group of participants.

A contact within the pilot study site distributed the information about the survey to the special constables directly. A brief handout was included to help explain the research and the online questionnaire. The survey remained live for one month to collect responses, and by the middle of that month the rate of responses began to slow. Using some demographic data collected in the survey, areas with the policing organisation where lower response rates were being collected could be identified. This was communicated to the contacts within those areas, who in turn made the special constables coordinator in that location aware of the slowing of response rate; those coordinators then pushed to increase the number of responses. By the end of the month, the survey had 96 responses to the survey, which represented 17% of the total number of special constables in the policing organisation. For the purposes of the pilot, this level of response allowed for initial analysis of question appropriateness, to ensure that questions were producing the correct sort of information, they were easily understood by the participants, and that there were not 'dead' questions which produced obvious or irrelevant responses across the participants.

There was a concern that a response rate of 17% would not be high enough for the final survey to return a sufficient set of data for the purposes of the study. In order to increase

response rate, internal contacts who regular interacted with special constables were asked to distribute future surveys. A distribution plan was constructed for the surveys beyond the pilot; documentation was sent to distributors and coordinators that could be attached to the initial distribution of the online questionnaire, and distributors and coordinators were instructed to remind potential respondents halfway through the month lifespan of the response time, and to issue reminders again with one week remaining.

The pilot survey did allow some changes to be made to the survey, particularly in relation to questions around initial motivations to volunteer, and motivations to remain a volunteer. By using free text response to the question around motivation, the survey could highlight which motivations existed across the Special Constabulary and which motivations – though previously highlighted as being part of a spectrum of functional volunteering motivations (Clary et al, 1998; discussed in Chapter 3) did not apply in this context. This was helpful in eliminating categories of answers that were redundant and highlighting potential areas of oversight. This allowed for a more accurate framework against which motivation could be measured. Questions were included that related to the geographical contexts of policing in each of the study sites, to ensure that the correct information could be collected within the different contexts for the purposes of comparison.

A contact within the English study site distributed the information about the survey to the special constables directly, and the divisional coordinators of the Special Constabulary across Police Scotland disseminated the information to special constables within their divisions. A brief handout was included to help explain the purpose of the research and the online questionnaire (Appendix C). The survey was distributed *nationally* across each division of Police Scotland but was only distributed to *one police service* in England. It was the intention of this study to carry out multiple surveys across a number of police services in England and Wales, but access to these police services for the purposes of distributing the survey was met with challenges.

The survey was distributed across Police Scotland with few problems. Key contacts were approached who were able to aid in the construction of a more detailed distribution strategy. Individual volunteering coordinators across the divisions of Police Scotland were contacted and agreed to take responsibility for the communicating the survey to the volunteers and helped with reminding respondents to complete the survey at various intervals in the survey response lifespan. This, however, was not enough to increase the response rate to the survey.

By the end of the live month, 105 responses were collected, which amounts to around 20.5% response rate from across the entire population of special constables they had on record (n = 512).

The dissemination of the survey south of border, however, did not go strictly to plan. The intention was to disseminate the survey across a larger population of English and Welsh special constables, to draw a more accurate comparison with the Scottish surveys. However, there was some resistance from a number of police services to allow the survey dissemination. The explanation for this was the disinterest that some police services believed would be shown to the survey by their special constables, following a previous large national survey which was administered to special constables across England and Wales following the Institute of Public Safety, Crime and Justice benchmarking research (Britton and Callender, 2017). Communication with these potential study sites indicated that there was an antipathy at the current moment towards surveys, and in the wake of the national survey, further surveys were not likely to be returned. This is indicative of over-surveying (Baruch and Holtom, 2008) at an organisational level, which results in apathy or antipathy towards being asked to conduct non-essential questionnaires (Weiner and Dalessio, 2006). However, the selected study site for the observations and interviews in England were keen to have the survey disseminated, and although the frequency of responses was not particularly high (n = 26), the proportion of total special constables that responded was similar to the proportion of responses across Scotland, making the comparison, at the very least, similar in relation to the proportion of the studied population that responded to the survey (15% in the English study site compared to around 12% in Scotland). This limitation is considered later in this chapter.

4.7 The Interviews

The semi-structured interview format presented a viable means of collecting data related to the lived experiences of the special constables, and data related to the way that regular officers understood the volunteers' contribution to the police organisation. The following explains the methodological approach to constructing the interviews within the study.

As mentioned previously, qualification for participation in the study was not heavily stressed. For regular officers, personnel who had some stake in the training or management of the Special Constabulary, either based in the delivery of training in local training centres or involved in the oversight of the Special Constabulary from an operational standpoint, were

identified and approached for interviews. The contacts within these sites that helped to arrange survey access also identified police officers who were often working alongside special constables regularly whilst on shift. These same contacts within the police organisation sent out internal emails, which generated a positive response from participants. This was much the same for special constables. To ensure that interviews captured a range of opinions, contacts helped identify and invite interview participants that represented a range of ages, genders and time served within the Special Constabulary. In addition, special constables from different areas within the police force were selected, to represent more rural, urban, and mixed experiences of police volunteering.

This sampling was opportunistic and non-random, due to the constructivist nature of the interviews, which sought to contextualise the experiences of the volunteers and the regular officers they work alongside. Whereas random and non-biased sampling of interview participants may have spoken to a better representation across the populations identified for the study and allowed for more generalisability in the outcomes of the study, the focus of the interviews, and the subsequent observations, was to understand the personal experiences of the officers within the context of the environment in which they volunteered. At the outset, generalisability was never the intended purpose of the interviews, and to seek to enhance generalisability by increasing the randomness of the participants within the study threatened to minimise the study's ability to identify special constables that represented volunteers working in a broad and diverse environment of police work.

Each study site was divided into three 'local policing areas', defined by identifying areas covered by particular police stations that had a defined geographical profile (urban, mixed, or rural). Three to four special constables were identified within in each of these geographically diverse areas. This would allow an exploration of the different contexts that emerge from policing different areas within the police forces, and the different experiences within those contexts. This resulted in twenty interviews with special constables from both study sites (eleven for the Scottish Study Site and nine from the English Study Site). These interviews ranged from 45 to 90 minutes long. To supplement these, twelve interviews (six from both English and Scottish study sites) were carried out with regular officers from the police forces who worked alongside special constables or had a hand in the application of, or decision-making around, volunteering policy or the management of the Special Constabulary in their respective police areas. This culminated in just over 32 hours of recorded, semi-

structured interviews on topics related to the experiences and impacts that the special constables have within their local police areas.

The interviews took place one-on-one, at a location of the participants choosing, which ranged from offices within police stations, police training facilities, and public places such as coffee shops and cafés. Interviewees were given an informed consent form ahead of the interview via internal police email, facilitated by the gatekeepers and contacts that helped to identify appropriate candidates once the interview was confirmed, and a copy was presented at the interview to allow the participant to confirm that they had consented to take part in the interview (Appendix D). Participants were offered the opportunity to ask questions about the interviews before the interview commenced and contact details were included to allow any questions or concerns to be raised upon conclusion of the interview. The interviews were audio recorded using voice recording software on a mobile phone, and the participants were informed of this, along with option to refrain from being audio recorded or to have the voice recorder turned off at any point of the interview. None of the participants refrained from being audio recorded, but some did ask for the recorder to be turned off at specific times when making statements, and these statements were not included in the final write up of the audio transcriptions.

The interview participants were keen and interested in the research, with many asking questions before and after the interview about the use of the research on completion and communicating their hopes that the research could inform change around the volunteering structures of the police organisations they were part of. For this reason, the interviews flowed well, and the participants were particularly candid and emotive about various aspects of their volunteering experiences, or their impressions of the special constables with whom they worked. In order to prevent identification of participants within the study, the participants have been given pseudonyms to ensure anonymity.

4.8 Observations

The observations were organised with the purpose of enabling special constables' experiences and interactions to be placed within different geographical and structural contexts. Below are some considerations that were made in the organisation of the observations.

The interview participants were invited to take part in the observations, based on the impressions that they gave in the interviews. Participants were selected based on the answers

they gave to particular questions in the interview relating to the sorts of tasks they often encountered on shift to ensure variance within the observations of different scenarios. In the English study site, the rank that the special constables had also factored into their selection for observation. The observations allowed this study to further reflect further on special constables' attitudes and opinions towards their role with the policing organisation, and to generate a first-hand account of the operational side of their volunteering and their behaviour and attitude to the police work they were involved with and the different actors they encountered whilst on duty.

Alongside the interview participants that were subsequently invited to take part in the observations, other potential participants for the observations were recruited from outside the interview participant pool. These participants were selected to ensure that the observations captured demographic differences, a range of geographical contexts, and to understand the ways that different attitudinal variables (such as motivation to volunteer) were accurately portrayed within the observation findings.

Consent for participation in the observations was negotiated personally, either face to face following the interviews, or via email where the participant was selected from outside of the pool of interviewees. Through the method of purposive sampling, a range of participants were selected that represented different ages, genders, levels of training and time served, and in England, different ranks for observation. This resulted in 115 hours of observation, with 60 hours in the Scottish study site, and 55 in the English study site, with a total of fourteen different shifts observed, with the length of each shift ranging from six to twelve hours. Twenty different special constables were observed on duty across both study sites.

The observations added depth and context to the interview data. Being able to view the special constables contributing to police work, interacting with other volunteers or regular officers, and the public, enhanced the findings that were drawn from the interviews, adding context to the attitudes and experiences that were expressed and identified within responses to the survey and the interviews.

A 'fly on the wall' style observation was originally invented to minimise the impact of the research on the observed participants. However, the nature of police work – the long shifts, the various breaks, and portions of down time that the special constables had during their shifts – resulted in far more instances of conversation and discussion with the special constables themselves. Long amounts of time spent in the back of police cars, sitting in parade rooms

waiting for calls to come in over the radio, and the general processes of police work, which involved large amounts of time waiting on stand-by, prompted a variety of opportunities to engage with participants about their attitudes and experiences in different environments. This added a further layer to the observation element of the study, where hours of discussion complemented the different interactions and activities that the special constables were engaged in. Travelling with them between jobs, driving around on response, or waiting in police stations and patrol cars with cups of coffee, allowed for quasi-walking interviews, where the interview and the discussion is prompted by the different locations visited by the participant and the interviewer. This extra element to the observations, which was not as strongly emphasised in the early stages of the method's selection, provided a much richer insight into the quality of the data which was collected. Moving between roles within the ethnography is not an uncommon feature of this method of data gathering, as authors such Punch (1979), in his research into the Amsterdam police, have commented on.

In most cases, interaction between the police and the public was informative and non-confrontational. There were a few emergencies, or 'blue light', situations which prompted a more exciting element to the observations and there were a few interactions with the public that were less than amicable. However, during these more heated or intense tasks or interactions, observations were suspended in order to ensure the safety of the operation and prevent any additional danger or risk associated with having a non-operational observer present taking notes. This only happened in one instance, and in some of the more intense scenarios, the observations continued as normal, albeit from a safer distance. A strategy was put in place to ensure that there was a contingency should an emergency situation arise, but there were no instances that required this during the course of the study. In the one instance where observation was suspended, reported observations were constructed based on the special constable's recollection of the event. The instance was specifically highlighted within the transcription of the field notes. The opportunity for discussion and conversation, as commented on above, meant that there were many chances to talk about these things after they had happened. The way that the special constables and the regular officers described these events, though, was an important finding within the study.

Observing participants is an intimate and intrusive from of data collection (Bell and Bryman, 2007) and in the context of police work, this can involve many issues that are ethically challenging. The observations were recorded using notepad and paper, and the field notes that were taken were transcribed into reports of each observation for the purposes of analysis. A

note format was adopted, which allowed for the input of contextual information every five minutes, recollecting the events that took place in five-minute intervals (Appendix E). Additional information was included when something particularly interesting occurred, and as such, the field notes constitute a comprehensive record of the events that took place. The observation reports were constructed from these notes, transcribed verbatim where the notes were clearly written, and reworded where shorthanded or prompts were quickly recorded. These reports were substantial and provide a good overview of each of the observations. Evidence reported and quoted in this thesis is taken directly from these reports.

Police organisations deal with important and, by the very nature of police work as state sanctioned, law enforcement agencies, sensitive information. Thankfully, the nature of the research proposal for this study meant that there were limited avenues for sensitive data to be engaged with. In the construction of the observations and negotiation of access to participants, there were few concerns sensitive information would be at risk of being recorded by the observation of the special constables concerned. Non-Police Personnel Vetting and multiple risk assessments ensured that the study presented no risk to the policing organisations that participated in the study, and no risk was posed to those involved in the observation process.

It is important to note that obtaining access to observe the police volunteers at work was negotiated with senior officers and non-police staff within the policing organisations, which begs the question of how far the police officers and police volunteers accepted the presence of an observer to their shifts. Waddington (1994) discusses this, acknowledging the role that power hierarchies play within the police force. Although consent was obtained from the individuals who were observed, to what extent they could have been compelled to allow an observer to accompany them on their shift, given the influence of the hierarchical structures to with they are beholden? To ensure that every individual was comfortable with the observations, each was asked at the beginning of each shift if they were happy to be observed, to mitigate any potential conflict of interest between this research and the individuals involved. This may not have been able to overturn any feelings that the individuals in the study were being coerced (not intentionally, but through the dynamics of rank and structure) to be part of the these observations, but there was a sense that all of the participants were happy to be involved, and expressed interest in the nature of the study and what it could uncover.

4.9 Organising the Data

The responses to the survey were coded and input into the quantitative data analysis software SPSS for the purposes of statistical analysis. Most of the data collected was simply reduced to numerical input, however, some of the questions in the survey collected free-text responses. These more qualitative answers were coded and analysed in the qualitative data analysis software NVivo to generate categorical variables, and the data was recoded and re-entered into the data sets constructed using SPSS.

The analysis of the quantitative data collected from the surveys in this study has been used in a largely descriptive manner. It was this intention to uses chi-square tests of independence to show potential relationships between variables in the study, however, given the level of response to the survey, and the lower numbers of participants within one particular study site, the number of participants meant that the tests of independence could not be performed with a level of confidence that could accurately measure significant relationships between the variables. With that in mind, the data was scrutinised from a more descriptive perspective, seeking trends and comparison between the data sets, and speaking to the observed patterns that emerged from the data, rather than comparing the observed to the expected results as would be the case with the tests of independence. Despite this limitation, the survey data and analysis, and the observed results, enhanced my understanding the landscape of the Special Constabulary in both the Scottish and English contexts, and help contextualise the perspective, attitude and opinions that the volunteers expressed when interviewed and observed.

The audio recordings collected from the interviews were converted to an audio file and stored on my personal computer. Both personal and back up files were password protected. The audio files were transcribed, using word processing software, and the transcriptions were stored electronically – secured by password protection – and a hardcopy was produced should the electronic copies become comprised in any way. Once transcribed, the word processing files were uploaded to the qualitative data analysis software NVivo. Once uploaded, the transcriptions were read over and coded. The coding framework used focused on the experiences of the special constable, their attitudes, and feelings towards the work that they volunteered as part of, and their recollection of interactions with the public and regular officers.

The coding frameworks were slightly different across the different types of interviews. For the interviews with special constables, the coding framework emphasised attitude and experiences, searching for common themes or anomalous opinions that stood out across the

answers. For the regular officers, the coding framework emphasised their attitude towards special constables and the impact that they saw the special constables having on police work. This process was carried out twice, once for each of the study sites where the interviews took place. After this, the two sets of interviews from each of the study sites were compared against each other to reveal the similarities or differences in a comparative context.

These findings were then explored in the context of the survey data and the analysis of the survey findings to provide further context to the interview responses. These findings helped to inform and shape the schedule for the observations, to highlight areas that required more clarity, to emphasise the findings, or to provide more context in relation to features revealed through the interviews that were not previously identified at the point of the interview or observation schedule's construction.

As mentioned above, the field notes for the observations were recorded with notepad and pen, with recordings taking place at intervals of five minutes, or more regularly where appropriate. The notes were used to construct comprehensive observation reports of the observed shifts, and these reports were produced using word processing software. The electronic copies were stored on my personal computer, and a backed up using an online service. Both electronic copies and backup copies were password protected. Hard copies of field notes were stored in my residence whilst field work was being carried out, stored in a filing cupboard. As per the ethical framework of the study, these hard copies have been destroyed following their digitisation.

Once the reports were completed, they were uploaded to the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo, and a coding framework was developed to analyse the reports. The coding framework stressed the themes and features highlighted from the analysis of the interviews to provide further context to the attitude and experiences of the special constables. Coding also revealed further features that could be explored and discussed as standalone findings only revealed with the observations. These findings were compared against the findings from both survey and interview analysis and compared between study sites to reveal differences and similarities across the Scottish and English observations.

4.10 Critical Reflection of the Study's Methodology

This study was an ambitious, mixed-methods approach to exploring a number of themes, in a comparative setting. Adopting both quantitative and qualitative methodologies was challenging, and difficulties were encountered as part of the research process. This

section is my own reflection on the choices made in designing and carrying out the data collection in this study.

4.10.1 Reflections on the Selected Methods

In two instances, scheduling problems or unforeseen circumstances led to the participants needing to reschedule, and due to my own time constraints, this led to two of the interviews being carried out as joint interviews, with two participants being part of the same interview. This only occurred in interviews with the Special Constabulary; there were no joint interviews where the participants were regular officers. While this caused no logistical problems, there is a potential impact in having another interview participant within the interview as it may affect the candidness or the freedom that participants experienced when giving their answers (Rubin and Rubin, 2011). This is discussed briefly later in this chapter as a potential limitation of the methodology in this study.

These concerns were alleviated by the fact that the participants in these interviews knew each other in a volunteering context and seemed to speak quite candidly regardless of the presence of another member of the Special Constabulary. Although joint interviewing was not preferred as a style of interview that I wished to employ in this study, the voluntary nature of the special constable's working patterns meant that there was often little opportunity for these participants to rearrange. Given that the participants were selected based on appropriateness rather than randomised sampling, any opportunity to interview them, which in these cases meant joint interviewing, could not be turned down.

Although no obvious or notable changes in the answering patterns could be seen within these joint interview, I made it clear that the participants would not be able to remain anonymous in a setting where their views were being expressed not only to me, but also to the other participant. My treatment of the data and the lengths I took to ensure anonymity in my own notes and transcription remained, but I could not guarantee that they could remain unidentified because of the presence of another person in the interviews. Not only this, but perhaps more importantly in terms of the way that the joint interview may have changed dynamics, the special constables interviewed in these joint interviews were of different ranks. This prompted a concern around the implication of a lower ranking special constable perhaps being unwilling to share complaints or be candid about their experiences in front of a superior due to the power dynamics at play. However, I saw no noticeable change in the patterns of the individual officer's answers, and in many areas, the discussion was richer as a result of the

sharing of stories within the interview, with participants calling on examples of joint experiences or commenting on things that they both liked or disliked, and actively engaging in 'debate' or 'disagreement' in the interviews. I felt that this helped provide a more nuanced understanding of the issues, and so I do not think the decision to carry out joint interviews in these cases where alternatives were unavoidable, presented a limitation.

With regards to the limitations of the survey, it is worth discussing the context in which this research was conducted in England and Wales, and the lack of appetite there seemed to be for my research taking place in different study sites across England and Wales. Survey fatigue, often a factor in longitudinal studies, is a phenomenon that occurs when a particular group of respondents are surveyed frequently, leading to disinterest in survey completion, and the subsequent tailoring off of response rates (Baruch and Holtom, 2008; de Vaus, 2014). In my reading of the topic at the point of the survey's construction, I did not anticipate that the same phenomenon might occur in studies like this one, with a shorter time frame, only relying on one survey.

Special constables in England and Wales had been heavily surveyed, both internally by the police organisation and externally by other researchers, just prior to this study's survey. By not reflecting on the impact that these other surveys may have had on completion and response rate, I potentially limited the responses that the survey was able to return. Contacts within police service across England and Wales mentioned that special constables had recently completed a number of surveys conducted by other researchers and were reticent to allow me to conduct the survey within their organisation. If I had aligned this study with other studies conducted around the same time as this one, or with internal surveys conducted by the police service to gauge volunteer satisfaction, then perhaps the response rates would have been higher. This approach, however, may have limited the extent to which the survey would have achieved the aims of this study. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this study focused on the experiences of volunteers within the policing organisation from a unique and unrepresented perspective and the data collection methods that were constructed reflected that direction. Aligning with an ongoing study may have allowed wider access to more potential participants but would also need to concede, at least in part, some degree of its originality and novel direction. I did not believe that curtailing the focus of this study to include questions set or influenced by other researchers, or by police services, was the correct decision. In making that choice, I believe that the effects of survey fatigue impacted somewhat on the response rates of the survey, and access to survey participants.

The intention of the survey was to collect data to understand the landscape of the Special Constabulary across the surveyed policing organisations, and to illustrate an 'outline' that the qualitative data from later data collection methods would help to contextualise and 'colour in'. I feared that a response rate represented a data set that had a limited degree of potential generalisable analysis. Representation in the survey responses was also lower than I would have hoped – with male and female response to the study sitting at 82% and 17% respectively, compared with the actual gender distribution of special constables (63% and 37% respectively, across both Police Scotland, and the police force in England selected for the survey, taken from the most recent sources available at the time of survey distribution as provided by the Home Office (2016) and Police Scotland (2013)).

The low frequency of respondents in the survey also meant that the analysis of these results, relying on chi-square tests of independence to identify relationships between the different variables, became more unreliable. Where the sample size of a population is low, the number of expected results that emerge when two categorical variables are computed can be too low to produce a reliable chi-square test. For some of the survey data, the expected results within the comparisons allowed for the chi-square tests to be applied and for the level of independence across those variables to be statistically interpreted with appropriate levels of reliability. For other variables, they did not. It is for this reason that the survey results were considered as largely descriptive for the purposes of analysis in this study and the results of the few reliable tests are not reported.

Despite this limitation, the descriptive analysis of the data collected in the survey provided a range of useful insights into the characteristics of special constables, outlined in Chapter 5. Furthermore, the survey provided a substantial basis for the construction of a working typology of special constables, which is considered later in Chapters 10 and 11. The difficulties encountered as part of the survey distribution and data collection, although originally viewed as a limitation with regard to study's original assumptions, presented the opportunity for a creative and novel attempt to explore these topics, which has resulted in a valuable contribution to the police volunteering field. From a personal perspective, my original frustrations with the deployment of the survey opened the opportunity to develop new, and I believe, important insights into the police volunteering behaviour.

In future studies of this kind, I would warn against using surveys as a research tool for gathering data from a group of volunteers who seem to be, at least at present, the focus of

multiple studies. The dangers of survey fatigue are often linked to longitudinal studies which deploy several surveys across one particular cohort of participants. In this case there seemed to be a phenomenon associated with the frequent, potentially chronic, surveying of these particular respondents. I would recommend communicating with police services ahead of proposing studies of this kind and working with them to deploy research surveys along with scheduled internal questionnaires, or to align with other researchers focusing on this topic and combine or share survey findings where appropriate. This might lead to some concessions on the part of the police service or the researcher – some questions or variables may need to be omitted in favour of others which might not have direct bearing on the study at hand – but this form of collaborative data collection could be a potential solution to the difficulties that survey fatigue present to research of this kind.

A note should also be made here about the decision to not include the findings from the pilot survey in this analysis. Given the low number of respondents to the English survey, some reflection was given as to whether the findings from the pilot survey – conducted in a different police service in England, and generating 96 responses – should be used here in place of these results or for the purposes of supplementing or cross referencing the results to provide higher levels of accuracy, or not. The measures by which the pilot study captured data on the motivation variable was left purposefully open-ended to inform the framework for collecting data about motivation in the subsequent surveys. On reflection, I did not feel confident that the way in which motivation was captured and measured in the pilot study was sufficiently like the way in which the final survey gathered that data. Given that motivation was a key feature of the volunteer's experience and is a theme addressed many times within this thesis – particularly in Chapter 10, where it forms part of the basis for the construction of the typology of special constables – I was not confident that supplementing or replacing the English survey results with the responses from the English pilot would be comparable with the results in Scotland. This is regrettable; however, the changes made to the final survey were a direct result of the success of the pilot study. I did not see the incompatibility of the pilot survey findings as a failing, but rather a feature of its success in informing the final survey product.

4.10.2 Positionality

One element of the research that became challenging, particularly as the qualitative methods of data collection began, was the introduction of the expectation that this research represented a medium through which the experiences of special constables would be improved.

As I observed more and more passionate and enthusiastic members of the Special Constabulary, and observed their eagerness to participate in my research, I began to feel more of a responsibility for ensuring that all of their stories were heard, and that my research resulted in outcomes which would enhance their experience of policing. Maintaining a degree of critical distance to ensure that my research did not amount to some form of activism frequently crossed my mind: how far is it the responsibility of the researcher to bring about positive change, and is it the researcher's prerogative to define what change is 'positive'?

Qualitative research that relies on ethnographic processes demands that the research reveals the social contexts within which social facts emerge (van Maanen, 1995), and that is achieved through interaction and examination of the field within which social interactions and experiences take place. It is important, therefore, that relationships between researcher and participants are built and maintained positively to ensure that fieldwork not only goes ahead as planned, but that it yields contextualised social facts about the experiences of the participants (Coffey, 1999).

For criminologists in particular, as well as those studying criminal justice organisations and their policy, positionality is not just a reflexive methodological question, but also one of ethical appropriateness. Presenting oneself as a 'champion' for victims of crime, for suspected or convicted criminals, or for punitive responses to deviant or criminal behaviour raises questions of bias, and asks further questions about the intentions of research in the first instance (Lumsden and Winter, 2014). When one presents themselves as an 'advocate' of criminal justice organisations, such as the police, courts or prisons, there is a danger of presenting the research as the findings of an 'insider' (Greene, 2014; Dwyer and Buckle, 2009).

I do not necessarily think that proximity to research participants is problematic for criminologically-orientated research, particularly when deploying qualitative methods of inquiry that often benefit from a participant-researcher relationship being formed to facilitate access and candour. My fear was that becoming too friendly. or, rather, being seen by the police organisation as becoming a champion for special constables' interests, would alter the position of my research to something of a social activist (Loader and Sparks, 2010). This could be interpreted as interference into policing management and practice rather than create an impression of a researcher with a genuine desire to improve the experiences of these volunteers.

A researcher's positionality, particularly in the social sciences, not only has implications for how the research is received, and perceived, by different audiences, but also

has a bearing on the way that researchers can interpret data, the way that they ask questions, and the way they might choose to present those findings. Sometimes, in interviews particularly, I found myself seeking lines of questioning that would confirm positions that previous participants had put forward in their interviews, because *I felt that they might be important* to the experiences of special constables. I found this problematic, not because I felt that I was moving the interviews in ways that were inappropriate: directing and steering interviews is an accepted and appropriate means of exploring topics, particularly topics which the participants may have less experience engaging with, or be less comfortable initially discussing (Qu and Dumay, 2011; Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). Rather, I felt that being too active with my own voice and thoughts throughout the interview represented a barrier to unique and contextualised information revealing itself naturally. The core purpose of the interviews and subsequent observations was to illustrate the quantitative data through contextualising those findings in real-world examples. Allowing those real-world examples to reveal themselves naturally within the data and removing my own perceptions from the means of generating that data was crucial. Being an 'outsider' researcher meant that my understanding and perception of policing experiences might often be different from the experiences that emerged in the interviews, and would often be couched in the more extensive literature relating to *police officers* rather the limited literature that focused on *police volunteers.* In subsequent interviews, I would employ a more inquisitive style of probing questions than, for example, reflecting on a scenario or opinion that might have been explored in another interview, and in subsequent interviews, I do not believe I was quite as leading in my lines of questioning as I might have been during the earlier ones.

I was never of the opinion that forming working relationships with special constables was inappropriate from the point of view that trust and familiarity are core parts of qualitative research. I remain aware that some of the early data collection was influenced by, and framed against a backdrop of, my own desire to gather data that was specifically aligned to particular outcomes. These were outcomes that I believed would be informative to policing organisations and could result in tangible improvements of the experiences of special constables. It has always been my intention within criminological research to act, as defined by Loader and Sparks, as a 'democratic under-labourer' (Loader and Sparks, 2010). This implies that I present my work in an accessible way, and I clear aside the theoretical debris that prohibits audience engagement, without sacrificing the core purpose of the research at hand. Doing this involves developing professional researcher/participant relationships. This proximity to participants can

lead to a blurring of lines between seeing participants objectively and applying normative and subjective understandings to these individuals' opinions and actions.

I do not believe that the data collection, and subsequent analysis, suffered because of these early problems with critical distance. However, I feel that this experience reminded me of important truths about the nature of qualitative research that hinges on the presence of a researcher for the purposes of data collection. Researchers are human, and their own desires and emotions have an impact up their research in ways that may challenge its direction and objectivity. I agree with authors that embrace the nature of the researcher as a human component of the research and would remind others that interacting with our normative position is crucial. On the one hand, it raises the question of *why* particular issues are important; on the other, it reflects on the researcher as part of the research design, method and instrument (Bryman, 2006; 2016), and our perceptions, emotions and experiences impact on the generation of data almost as much as the data that our participants contribute.

4.11 Using the Data to Explore Special Constable Experiences

Taken together, the data from the survey, interview and observations represented a wealth of quantitative and qualitative data. This provided comment on the structures and frameworks of the Special Constabularies in both policing organisations and revealed how the special constables themselves interact with, impact on and experience those frameworks and structures. The important feature here is to bring to light the ways in which mixed methods research can ensure that the study is able to be descriptive, exploratory, and seek to provide insights into the causality of the attitudes and opinions identified within the survey data. A comprehensive survey alone would not be able to speak to the contexts and personal experiences that contribute to the reasons behind the survey respondent's answers. The inclusion of the qualitative data places the answers of the survey into the contexts in which these attitude and opinions are formed.

In this way, the findings help to generate an understanding of the special constables who participate within the policing organisation, the features of the policing organisation that they interact with on a regular basis, and how the nature of that interaction shapes the understanding that they themselves have of the role that they play within the policing environment. The following chapters explore the findings that emerged from the data collected from these methods.

The following chapter first examines the findings from the survey data, reflecting on the demographic features identified across the special constables and the limitations that were encountered regarding the survey following the difficulties in distribution and the lack of statistically significant relationships within the data.

Chapter 6 then explores the different ways in which the special constables and the policing organisations understand the benefits of the special constables' participation, to determine the nature of the volunteer contribution within the policing environment. This allows for a deeper understanding of the prevailing attitudes across the volunteers and policing actors that define the special constables place within the policing environment, which can be considered in relation to the construction of the roles that the special constables play within the police service.

The nature of the special constables' role is considered further in Chapter 7, reflecting on the structural features of policing that impact on their own understanding and perception of the role that they play and the implications that these factors have on their place within the organisational structures of policing. This chapter seeks to explore the impacts that the organisational structures of police work have on the volunteer's experience of policing, and the ways in which the everyday nature of policing within their associated policing organisations shape their understanding of the work that they do and the meaning they attach to their contributions.

With these findings in mind, Chapter 8 reflects on the cultural features of policing that the volunteers interact with whilst contributing to the police services they are part of. Whereas the previous chapter deals with the impact of the organisational and structural features of police work, this chapter considers how the volunteers attach value and meaning to the work that they do, and how far the values that they have as volunteers align with the values expressed by the policing organisation.

Chapter 5: The Survey Findings

This chapter explores the findings from the survey conducted at a national level across Police Scotland, and divisionally within the English study site. This data was collected to allow for an exploration to discover potential patterns in the demographic composition of the special constabularies across the surveyed sites and to consider other characteristics of the volunteers who were motivated to join the Special Constabulary.

This chapter considers the findings within the study that were able to capture demographic features of these volunteers; the findings generated a solid basis for the exploration of the qualitative findings within the study. Following this descriptive analysis, the findings in this chapter provide a basis for the typology that is explored later in the thesis (Chapters 10 and 11). The chapter reflects on the findings, which act as the foundation for the later exploration of qualitative data in this study. The findings were used to enhance the understanding of the characteristics of the special constable in the context of UK policing, and frame the analysis detailed in later chapters of this thesis.

5.1 Demographic Patterns

The following are basic descriptive statistics from the surveys' findings in relation to the ages, genders, and ethnicities of the volunteers. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 (below) demonstrate the ages of the respondents to the survey, showing frequency of respondents and the percentage of the respondents in each category. Both tell relatively similar stories about the ages of special constables across both surveyed populations, with the lowest numbers of respondents appearing within the middle age ranges (31-34, 35-38 and 39-42) compared with younger or older age ranges. A higher percentage of respondents seem to group around the younger and older age ranges in both samples.

Age plays a role in an individual's decision to volunteer, with younger volunteers searching for more functional and instrumental benefits from their volunteer experience than older volunteers (Hagar and Brudney, 2008). However, these authors suggest that organisations that attract younger volunteers often do so by promoting the functional benefits of volunteering, which can in fact make the organisation seem less attractive to older volunteers, who are more typically motivated by the expression of their own values or through altruistic desires rather than egoistic, instrumental reward (ibid). This may account for the dip in the middle age ranges seen across the data in this study. The youngest

volunteers in the cohort are more likely to be seeking instrumental outcomes, such as career advancement into the regular constabulary, a trend already identified in police volunteering (Gaston and Alexander, 2001; Pepper, 2014). Older volunteers may have fewer other commitments than the middle age ranges and therefore may have more time to contribute to volunteering.

Table 5.1: Age of Respondents (Grouped) in the Scottish survey responses (n=109)

Age of Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
18-21	12	11
22-25	12	11
26-30	19	17.4
31-34	7	6.4
35-38	9	8.3
39-42	5	4.6
43-46	14	12.8
47-50	12	11
Over 50	19	17.4

Table 5.2: Age of Respondents (Grouped) in the English survey responses (n=26)

Age of Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
18-21	3	11.5
22-25	5	19.2
26-30	3	11.5
31-34	4	15.4
35-38	1	3.8
39-42	0	0
43-46	4	15.4
47-50	2	7.7
Over 50	4	15.4

Perhaps these findings demonstrate the understanding that those within the middle age ranges simply have more commitments in their everyday lives, which prevents them from contributing as much time to volunteering activities than the youngest and oldest in the cohort.

Following Hagar and Brudney's (ibid) assertion that different volunteering motivations are more likely to be associated with a volunteer's age, the polarised groupings of younger and older volunteers in this study suggests that there may be different motivations across these groups of special constables. This suggests that the Special Constabulary, as a volunteering organisation, is seen to provide opportunities for specific types of motivations to be realised, which attracts both younger and older volunteers to their ranks.

81.7% (n = 89) of the respondents to the survey in Police Scotland, and 73.1% (n = 19) of the respondents in the English survey identified as male. These figures are indicative of Bullock's (2014) claims that the Special Constabulary is not representative of the communities that they serve in their duties as police officers. Special Constabularies are potential sources of improving this legitimacy when used to attract recruits to better represent this diversity (ibid). These findings suggest, however, that the Special Constabulary is predominantly male in both of the surveyed police services.

A similar narrative emerges when considering the ethnicity of the volunteers within the Special Constabulary. Following the list of ethnicities which Police Scotland use in their own surveys to report on ethnicity, the survey presented the volunteers with 14 options for the identification of their ethnicity. In Scotland, 91.7% (n= 100) of the respondents selected 'White British' as their ethnic identity. Of the 9 who did not, one selected 'White Irish', two selected 'Indian', four selected other BME backgrounds, and two selected 'another White background' (clarifying it as 'Scottish' in their verbatim free-text response). Consequently, only six of the Scottish respondents (5.5%) were from BME backgrounds. 100% (n = 26) of the respondents from the English survey respondents identified themselves as 'White British'. With the majority of the respondents identifying as British, white men, there is little this survey can do to contribute to understanding more about the experiences of volunteers based on gender or ethnicity differences.

This finding suggests that there may be an issue with representativeness of females and ethnicities within the Special Constabulary, which is mirrored by the regular police force

(Rowe, 2002; Bury et al, 2018). The idea of being associated with the police service as a volunteer may be too much of a risk for some BME volunteers and too masculine an environment for female volunteers to want to participate within (Stone and Tuffin, 2000; McCarthy, 2013). It is perhaps an indication that the regular police organisation and the Special Constabulary are seen by potential volunteers as two sides of the same coin rather than different organisations with separate goals or agendas.

5.2 Volunteer's Perception of their Role

In order to capture the range of different perceptions that existed across the respondents, the survey included a free text response option to allow them to explain, in their own words, what they believed the best description of what special constables do within the policing organisation. Following the literature around police culture (discussed in Chapter 3), understanding the volunteer's own perceptions and understandings of their role was crucial in better reflecting on the ways that they interact with, and are impacted by, the policing environment.

Tables 5.3 and 5.4 (below) show, in both surveyed populations, that the largest percentage of special constables understand their role to be linked to providing support and working alongside regular constables. Additionally, the second most frequent response from both surveyed populations related to 'performing the same duties' as a regular constable. The majority of special constables (72% of English respondents, and 60.6% of the Scottish respondents) understand their own role in relation to the regular counterparts that they work alongside – they either define their role as working to support them, or they emulate them. This is an interesting finding, which may suggest that interactions between police officer and special constables plays a role in the way that the special constables understand the role that they play within the policing organisation.

'Providing corroboration', a role given by some special constables across Police Scotland, refers to the Scottish law of corroboration which places unique burdens on evidence in Scottish criminal proceedings (see Chapter 3). The impact that the rules of corroboration have on the special constable's experience of volunteering is considered in more detail in Chapter 6 (in relation to the special constables perception of their contribution to the policing organisations) and in Chapter 8 (in relation to the impact of organisational features of policing, specifically linked to special constable's autonomy and responsibilities).

Table 5.3: Respondents verbatim answers (grouped) to the question 'what role to special constables play within the policing organisation' in the Scottish survey responses (n=99)

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Additional resource/increasing workforce numbers	23	23.2
Provide Corroboration	3	3
Undertaking the same duties as a regular constable	24	24.2
Helping within the community	11	11.1
'Superficial' role	2	2
Providing support to regular colleagues	36	36.4

Table 5.4: Respondents verbatim answers (grouped) to the question 'what role to special constables play within the policing organisation' in the English survey responses (n=25)

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Additional resource/increasing workforce numbers	4	16
Undertaking the same duties as a regular constable	6	24
Helping within the community	2	8
'Superficial' role	1	4
Providing support to regular colleagues	12	48

Some of the surveyed special constables described their role in relation to the communities that they police and represent. Community, as considered in the literature around police volunteering earlier in this thesis (Chapter 3), is an important theme in the research around police volunteers and these findings suggest that some special constables desire to contribute to policing in a way that enhances the police organisation's ability to tackle problems within local communities (Tuffin et al, 2006, Dickson, 2019).

The largely similar distribution of thematic responses across both surveyed populations offers an important insight – even though the structures of policing around the special constables in both Scotland and England are different (explored further in Chapter 8), special constables across both surveyed populations define their roles in similar ways. This suggests that there are features of the special constable's role as a volunteer police officers that might emerge in different Special Constabularies, regardless of the policing context, which have an impact upon their perception of their role. In order to further investigate what these features might be, this study considered volunteer motivations as a potential predictor of this pattern. As highlighted in Chapter 3, a volunteer's motivations play a key role in shaping their role-identity within an organisation (Finklestein et al, 2005) and thus generating a deeper understanding of the different motivations of special constables may help to better explain the similarities seen across both sets of survey responses in relation to the volunteers' perceived roles.

5.3 Motivations of the Volunteers

To gauge motivation across the volunteers in this study, respondents were asked to select a statement from a list of reasons why they chose to volunteer initially as a special constable. The list of reasons was informed by Clary et al's (1998) Volunteer Function Inventory and refined following analysis of the pilot study. The following tables (table 5.5 and 5.6 below) show the different motivations identified across the special constables in both surveyed populations.

From both groups of respondents, the percentage that identified 'improving employability' with the police, and 'giving back to the community' represent the two most frequent responses given when asked about initial motivations. Police volunteering literature highlights the role of the Special Constabulary as a 'training ground' for volunteers, who are testing the waters before choosing policing as a career path (Bullock and Leeney, 2016; Gaston and Alexander, 2001; Whittle, 2014). Alongside this career-motivated group,

however, are community-orientated motivations, more associated with the traditional, altruistic sense of volunteer motivation linked 'helping' and 'giving back' (Wilson, 2000; Musick and Wilson, 2008). Reflecting on the earlier comparison of the ages of the respondents in the study, this confirms the assumption that there are multiple motivations at play across special constables that attract them to volunteering within the policing organisation. With younger volunteers more likely to be motivated by the prospects of improving their employability or transferable skills (Hagar and Brudney, 2008) and older volunteers more frequently attracted to volunteering by a sense that they are improving the

Table 5.5: Motivations for joining the Special Constabulary in the Scottish survey responses (n=103)

Motivation for joining	Frequency	Percentage
To improve employability with the police	25	24.3
To learn more about policing	14	13.6
To give back to the community	34	33
To learn and improve skills	7	6.8
To support the policing organisation	11	10.7
Interest in law and order	10	9.7
To do something exciting	2	1.9

*Table 5.**Error! No text of specified style in document.**6: Motivation for joining the Special Constabulary in the English survey responses (n=26)*

Motivation for joining	Frequency	Percentage
To improve employability with the police	9	34.6
To learn more about policing	3	11.5
To give back to the community	5	19.2
To learn and improve skills	2	7.7
To support the policing organisation	5	19.2
Interest in law and order	2	7.7

communities in which they live (Stebbins, 1996), these findings generate an early illustration of the special constables in this study as a group divided and defined by motivation and age.

5.3 Reflecting on these findings

Following Grube and Piliavin (2000), similarities in the motivations that the special constables have for joining, and the sort of experiences that volunteers expect to have in their volunteering role as motivation plays a role in shaping the value and meaning that they assign to the roles that they play may have been expected to emerge within the collected data. Despite this, the comparison between motivation and the definition of their role, in this study, did not support that finding.

This represented an interesting disconnect between volunteer motivation and perceived role. It could have been assumed that the respondents who indicated that they saw their role as improving their community, or giving back to the public in some way, would have been more likely to have been initially motivated by a desire to give back to their community. There was, however, no significant relationship between respondents' description of their role and their joining motivation. Those special constables who joined, motivated by a desire to give back to their community, were just as likely as other special constables to define their role as 'support' as those special constables motivated by a desire to support the policing organisation.

5.4 Taking the Findings Forward

The survey provides the foundations for understanding the way in which the Special Constabulary in both policing organisations are arranged, and importantly, draws attention to the emerging relationship between perceptions and understandings that these special constables have about their role and the volunteer's own demographics.

Reflecting on the police volunteering literature in Chapter 3 places the findings from the survey into more context. The large proportion of special constables motivated by a desire to join with the aim of becoming a regular officer aligned with the literature that considered the Special Constabulary as a 'training group' for new recruits (Pepper, 2014). Further still, the high proportion of those motivated by a desire to give back to their community linked up to the description of the 'career' special, defined earlier in Chapter 3 (Callender et al, 2018;

Whittle, 2014), representing a longer-serving special constable not motivated by the prospects of leaving as a volunteer to join as a regular.

This implies that there may exist ‘types’ of special constables within the policing organisation that can be identified and defined, specifically based on their motivations for joining, and experiences of participating within, the policing organisation. However, the survey analysis did not reveal relationships between the variables that help explain this link. Reflecting on these findings alongside the qualitative data collected across both study sites, in relation to the special constable’s perception of own role and contribution, has allowed this thesis to explore this concept further. What do special constables do, and how do they understand their contributions within the policing organisation?

The following chapter begins to answer the proposed question. The analysis of the interviews conducted with special constables and police volunteers presented in this chapter focuses on the volunteers’ own perceptions of the role that they undertake as both police officers and as volunteers, and sought to draw out relationships between volunteer motivation and the experiences of volunteers working within the policing environment. The next chapter outlines the findings from these interviews and considers how far the perception of the role that the special constable plays is informed by their own experiences of working within the policing environment.

Chapter 6: The Role of the Special Constable

The survey data provided a number of reflections, from the perspectives of the special constables themselves, about the role they saw themselves playing within the policing environment. This provides this study with a basis for exploring the different roles that the special constables understand themselves to be performing within the policing organisation, and this chapter explores those perceptions further. The different perceptions that the special constables have of their own contributions and the benefits they can bring to the policing organisation are explored, to further enhance the understanding of the way that they interact with the policing environment and the value they attribute to the roles of special constables.

6.1 A Numbers Game

Police workforce numbers, along with statistical measurements and the imposition of quotas, are often called upon as a measure of the competency and effectiveness of a police organisation up and down the United Kingdom (Bailey, 1994; Jones, 2008). In England, workforce numbers are assessed on a quarterly basis as a measure of police preparedness. These workforce statistics are often considered alongside analysis of why these numbers indicate an operational and effective police force. Police Scotland have been bound, since its formation in 2012, by the Scottish Government to ensure there is always a minimum operational number of police officers within the service – 17,234 to be exact. Pledged in the Outline Business Case for the construction of Police Scotland (Fyfe and Henry, 2012) – 17,234 has become something of ‘magic number’ that has widely – and arguably wrongly – been presumed to be the number of officers required for Police Scotland to functionally operate (Fyfe and Scott, 2013).

Workforce numbers have become synonymous with measuring effective performance and could be an artefact of the managerialist turn that policing in the UK has taken in the recent past, (Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009). The availability of demographic statistics and easily measurable and comparable data provide hard and fast ways to show that police services are achieving their desired targets, viewed in relation to their cost-effectiveness and their adherence to key performance indicators (Walker, 2000; Crawford and Lister, 2004). The critics of the managerial turn have warned of reducing policing to a game of numbers, resulting in a loss of qualitative assessment of the sort of work police officers are doing to keep the public safe in exchange for appearing to meet relevant targets and quotas (Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009). Nonetheless, expressing police effectiveness and success through quantitative measures of workforce size is a feature of the current policing landscape.

The quality of reporting on the numbers of police volunteers is sporadic, and even when they have been recorded and publicised, the accuracy of the recording has been called into question, particularly considering that wastage and infrequent contact with the voluntary special constables can lead to miscalculations and unknown errors in the reporting of their numbers (Whittle, 2014).

With the number of regular police officers in the United Kingdom declining (Scottish Government, 2018; Home Office, 2018) there was a general understanding across the qualitative data that special constables played a role in alleviating the pressures that accompanied these declining numbers. This excerpt from an observation of the English study site served as a first-hand account of the impact that a lack of officers can have on a shift:

> The briefing emphasised the lack of regular officers that were available for tonight's shift. In addition to the absences through sickness, protests in another part of the force had led to officers being pulled in to help monitor those events, and as such, the numbers of regulars were particularly low. I was shocked to see that, when it came time for the briefing to start, that there were as many specials in the room as there were regular officers. The officer in charge of the shift thanked the special constables for coming out, and 'making the shift possible'. – *from observation field notes, 'George', English study site*

There was a general understanding across interviewees that special constables were there to bolster the number of regular officers, not replace them. In this scenario however, the special constables were the reason that the shift was able to be effectively staffed – the sergeant could have pulled in more units from other areas or phoned around other shifts to cancel rest days if push came to shove, but the presence of the special constables meant that that did not have to happen.

In the modern policing environment in the United Kingdom, where features of austerity and enhanced pressures on policing organisations are common (Mann et al, 2018; Cooper et al, 2015), having the Special Constabulary as a means to reduce workload and ensure that police officers can be guaranteed their time off represents a benefit to police officer wellbeing alongside the more obvious increase in available resource. The cancelling of rest days, overtime shifts and longer working hours, speaks to another of the perceived benefits that special constables represent: they save the police organisation money as they are a cheaper alternative to increasing the number of regular police officers:

> If a fight broke out today, and we weren't on shift, the other unit would probably be out as two single crews. We would be a doubled-crewed unit that you could send, and you want to send a double-crewed unit, [in order to collect evidence properly]. It's good from our point of view and their point of view. – *from Interview 109, 'Daniel', Scottish study site.*

If [regular officers] are tied up with an emergency call, there might be a back log; there's people on the wanted list, there are welfare checks, there might be people phoning the police wanting to visit based on something they have seen or heard, or something that they are not quite sure about. Having another unit means we can deal with the emergency jobs, high-grade jobs, and deal with the backlog at the same time – *from Interview 204, 'Harry', English study site.*

In some instances, having an available special constable allowed another regular officer to be 'double-crewed', that is, having another officer alongside them to respond to a call. In England, this was often discussed in relation to safety, or even simply to give the regular officer a colleague with whom to work with for the evening to stave off boredom:

This force covers a massive area, and some nights you might have one response officer who needs to cover six-hundred square miles of road across the force. They are miles away from the next nearest station or cop, and having another person in the car with them means that they have the extra help, if anything were to kick off – *from Interview 203, 'Simon', English Study site*

The regular officer that George was working with mentioned to me a number of times about the benefits of having other officers with her out on shift. In situations like tonight, if special constables had not come out, then she would have almost definitely been single crewed, and as the hours dragged on, driving long distances between calls, having another person in the car to talk to, she said, was a welcome change from sitting alone. – *from observation field report 'George', English Study site*

The presence of a special constable meant that the regular had another officer acting as back up when risky encounters might arise – a call a domestic assault or altercation being the most cited example across the interviews of a scenario when regulars were happy to have a special working alongside them. This, however, prompted a perspective that some special constables were there simply to provide another body on shift to ensure that a regular constable could be double-crewed, or, in the Scottish context, to ensure corroboration in police enquiries:

…the reality is if that special wasn't there, they wouldn't be able to do any of the things that they were doing because they would not have the corroboration that they need to detain that person, or arrest that person or interview that person… – *from Interview 111, 'Sgt Malcolm', Scottish Study site*

'Doubling up', in Scotland, beyond enhancing officer safety, is a means to ensure that corroboration is satisfied. As such, some specials understood what they did as 'walking corroboration':

I got the feeling that, even though the special was relatively new, and the regular officer that they were paired with had their best interests at heart – he was keen to find calls that the special had not had an opportunity to see before – I wondered how far the special was actually able to get involved and interact in our current situation [a domestic call, for a suspected drug overdose]. Part of me felt as though he was there to provide a second account of what the

regular observed, and even though he was gaining the experience, I don't know how far he was *contributing* and how far he was *corroborating – from observation field notes 'Alistair', Scottish Study Site*

The role of corroboration (see Chapter 3 for explanation) in carrying out of everyday police work means that the presence of special constables could be make difference between a successful and a non-successful investigation. Some special constables highlighted that if they came out on shift, and there were three regular officers working alongside them, that they felt as though they were allowing the third officer to perform a more substantial job, simply because their presence ensured that there was valid corroboration, and two units could be deployed that night instead of one. The necessity of corroboration had a double impact on the volunteers who were affected by it. On the one hand, many understood their role as 'walking corroboration' as important, regardless of whether they believed that it was the most appropriate use of their time or not:

I want to help however I can, and that might just mean being there for corroboration. That's fine. They need to make sure they have it, and if that means me being there, that I'm happy to do that. – *from Interview 106 'Agnes', Scottish Study site*

On the other hand, many saw the rules surrounding corroboration as a restriction on the role that they believed they were to be playing as a special constable:

Before I used to come out on shift with Daniel, all I would do would be go out with a regular cop and corroborate whatever it is that they needed doing. Just filling in the notebook. That's not really the point of why we are out here giving up our time – *from Interview 110, 'Robert', Scottish Study site*

There was a sense of pride in being able to ensure that police officers could get out and do their job, whilst at the same time a reservation about whether that should be the core function of their role as a special constable:

That's how I see my role [as a corroborator]. I think that's important, and the regulars need us to come out and play that role. There are other things we can do, and that we could be doing, but I think that's the role that we best fit. There are times, at 5 o'clock in the morning, when you think to yourself, 'why the hell am I doing this', but I'm proud of the role that I play, even if it might not be the role we could be playing – *from Interview 105, 'Andrew', Scottish study site*

In England, the concept of being out on shift simply to allow a regular office to do their job was foreign one. The special constables within the English study site, in contrast to their Scottish counterparts, worked towards gaining 'independent' status – they are able to go out on response or patrol without another officer present. The need for doubling up,

sometimes necessary for the purposes of corroboration, stood counter to this status that they trained and worked towards:

> That [being walk corroboration] would drive me crazy, I'm a special and I might go out with a regular, but we might go to a job and I'll take the lead, go to another, the regular might take the lead, and I'll follow him. It's about building up partnerships and relationships, and once we know each other's capabilities then we can do what we want to do, and Control will dispatch us to jobs, because they know that we are capable and competent to do jobs on our own. Specials that just sit there and let the regular get on with their job without getting involved, we call them 'seat covers'. – *from Interview 201, 'George', English study site*

As these English volunteers strive towards becoming independent and free from the requirement of working alongside another officer, the notion that a special constable in Scotland might consider their role as 'walking corroboration' as important was a bizarre thought for them. For those English volunteers, it seemed to be a limitation that went against their understanding of the role of the special constable. From the perspective of Scottish regular officers, that role meant that police work could actually be performed and was instrumental in ensuring that officers could carry out their own role.

Corroboration in Scotland defines the understanding of the volunteers' 'purpose' within the Scottish study site – it shapes the volunteer's understanding of what role they should be playing whilst on shift, whilst also being seen as a genuinely important responsibility by some volunteers and regular officers alike. In the English study site, it is seen as contrary to the nature of their duties as a volunteer and (for some) contrary to their desires to become independent officers. This single legal feature highlights the contrast between both policing environments and shows how simple elements of policing procedure define what these volunteers understand as important about their role. In England, the idea that a special constables presence alters, legally, the capacity of a regular officer to do their job was alien, whereas in Scotland it is central to the way that these volunteers understand the role that they play; even if that role, according to some, is not the core function of what a special constable is there to be doing. The tension between English special constables' understanding of 'independence', and the Scottish volunteers' perception of corroboration, is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8 in relation to the impacts of policing organisational features on volunteer's perceptions of their role.

6.2 Policing on the Cheap

As reflected on in Chapter 3, literature surrounding the economic valuation of the special constables often points towards a net gain for policing organisations – the cost of

recruitment and training of the volunteers is often off set against the monetary valuation of the hours of labour that they represent (Whittle, 2014, Hargreaves et al, 2016). For those concerned with cost saving and budgetary considerations, the Special Constabulary represents a beneficial resource that save police forces money. This argument, however, has its natural counterpoint. Historically, as reflected upon in Chapter 2, opposition to volunteers as a cheap alternative to police officers came from labour-focused groups, often the Police Federation, who saw special constables as a threat to the opportunities of the regular officers (Leon, 1991). This criticism is far less prominent in modern literature concerning the benefits and costs of special constables, but it still permeates discussion about the specials constable's role as a provider of workforce numbers; potentially due to that perception's significance in the historical collective memory of police organisations in the United Kingdom.

The idea that volunteers provide cost savings through their own sacrifice of time directly impacts the way that volunteers are viewed and valued by society. The more a volunteer is seen to 'lose' through their activity, the more likely they are viewed as conforming to the concept of being a volunteer – an individual benefiting others through their sacrifice of unremunerated time (Cnaan et al, 1996). The concepts of cost and reward are central to perceptions of volunteering and the values that are expected to be shown by volunteers. Whereas commentators on the policing organisations may consider the economic discussion of the Special Constabulary as an objective reflection on their value as a policing resource, special constables can construe that sort of discussion as an evaluation of their intentions as a volunteer. It challenges the value that they place on their volunteering activity – making them feel more like a mercenary than a civically responsible citizen. The interviews carried out in both study sites highlight the advantages and the problems of measuring the worth of special constables based on their economic value. Many saw the position of the special as a 'cheap alternative' as a core element of their role within the policing organisation:

> …it's cost effective. In [this force], resources seem minimal, and you can see that in the number of officers that are on shift. For the cost of a uniform and some expenses, you get a trained and competent officer that can help support the regulars in a time when resources are thin on the ground – *from interview 202, 'Edward', English study site*

> I think with the current constraints on figures and the cost implications of hiring new officers, if there is a pool of people that are willing to [support the police], well, for a little to no cost, that for the company itself is a valuable resource to have in the pool – *from Interview 112 'Sgt Michael', Scottish study site*

Their availability as a free or cost-neutral resource defined their own understanding of the role they played as a member of the police service. However, not all considered economic valuation of their role as appropriate:

…we don't get paid for it and I know that is a massive thing. But money doesn't make a job what it is. We are warranted. We are running towards the thing that other people are running away from. That's what it is. – *from Interview 208, 'Elizabeth', English Study site*

Evaluating special constables in relation to their economic costs and benefits was seen by some a marked devaluation of the benefits they bring to the police force. Whereas some saw it a crucial part of the definition of what a special constable was, and what their benefits to the police force included, some saw it as too simplistic a definition of the special constables' place within the policing landscape and an underestimation of the benefits that they represented as a workforce. Further still, economic considerations lay at the heart of the some of the bigger discussions concerning reward. Many of the special constables reflected on the 'free' nature of their work, seeing it as crucial to the nature of the Special Constabulary:

If I pay an electrician to come around to my house and do a job, I expect a certain standard. If my friend, who is an electrician, comes along and helps me out in the house, I expect something different. I think the whole game would have to change… When you start [paying people in exchange for their time], all the rules change. – *from Interview 102, 'William', Scottish study site*

Payment or the financial incentive that the special constables receive as part of their volunteering was often at the centre of discussions that considered the 'value' of special constables. The periodic payment that is available to Scottish special constables – an annual award for the completion of a specific number of hours performed over the course of the year – was seen by some as crucial to their continued volunteering, and by some as an almost vulgar feature of the Special Constabulary, generating diametrically opposed points of view on the subject of reward:

[Without the periodic payment] I wouldn't be able to afford it. I wouldn't be able to do 300 hours, I would only be able to do about 200, and I don't think that's worth it. I've worked it out so that what I do is better quality. The money is handy, and I couldn't do it without it. No, I think that I aim for 300 hours every year, and I am able to do that because of the payment – *from Interview 103, 'Harris', Scottish study site*

I think the periodic payment attracts people who only want to do it for the money, and I think that is the wrong sort of person [to be a special constable] – *from Interview 102, 'William', Scottish study site*

I do enough hours to get it, but it's not the reason I stay, and it's not the reason I joined. Of course, it's nice to have, but it's not really the point of why I do this – *from Interview 107, 'Gavin', Scottish study site*

To the extent that monetary analysis of the Special Constabulary is useful in balancing the books and in convincing those who hold the purse strings that the volunteering is a worthwhile investment, special constables themselves regard discussion about their monetary value and financial rewards that are available to them in a far less objective way. Like the excerpt from William's interview, above, the volunteers talk about monetary incentive and payment in the same breath as they do 'the right kind of special'. The economics of special constables and the idea that volunteers prevented opportunity for regular officers to earn more money – the focus of the historic opposition to the Special Constabulary – is less of a concern for those volunteers interviewed in this study:

You'll hear 'they take our overtime', but that's dinosaur stuff. – *from Interview 102, 'William', Scottish study site*

That's outdated now. We don't get overtime now; we haven't had overtime for years. People will see specials coming out, and they'll say, 'thank God', because you know they are there to help. I would say there is more a change of mindset now. I would like to think…- *from Interview 114, 'Sgt Mary', Scottish study site*

I know there has been issues in the past, I think some regulars, from what I've heard, have had issues with specials because there was a bit of a rivalry with overtime issues. I'm not sure how the overtime with regulars works. Apparently, there was some sort of crisscross, and there was the viewpoint that specials were taking overtime away from regulars. I've heard that was not actually the case, that was just a perception, but yeah, it all comes back to being there to support rather than replace. – *from interview 202, 'Edward', English study site*

These reflections, taken alongside the above reflections about specials ensuring that some shifts are manned without the cancellation of rest days, highlights the value that they bring to the policing organisation in another light, and one that is not dimmed by the arguments that they are free labour.

Though it can be valuable to measure the benefits of the special constables on an economic scale, authors have warned of the dangers of an overreliance on economic justifications for the specials, which can diminish the other positive impacts and value that volunteers add to policing (Bullock and Leeney, 2016; Hieke, 2018). Whilst it is clear that special constables, particularly those who are the longest serving, represent economic benefits to the policing organisation (Whittle, 2014), the special constables themselves indicated that there were a number of further benefits that they could bring to policing organisations. It was perhaps articulated best by a regular sergeant, lamenting the way that

police officers understand people as 'numbers' rather than thinking about the qualities behind that number:

Some people have been doctors before they join the police, and people can forget that because all they see is the shoulder number. That's not just a special constable thing, that's a police culture thing. It's a terrible thing when you think about it, because people with great skill sets that can be used to do a lot of great things are just reduced to their shoulder number. It's part of the culture though. – *from Interview 114, 'Sgt Mary', Scottish study site*

Whilst most special constables maintained the importance of the Special Constabulary in enabling police services to staff shifts and meet targets, many reflected on other ways in which they saw the specials playing a role within the policing organisation:

In some cases, the police might struggle to have the numbers to police an event, but even when they do, having a special adds some extra resilience. It's not about replacing. It's the fact that [the event] is policed *better* because specials are there. They do add resources, but they also support and improve what is already there – *from Interview 207, 'Charles', English Study site*

The idea that special constables make policing *better* contributes to this understanding of the value of special constables beyond economic measures. The remainder of this chapter reflects on the 'something extra' that the special constables see as an important part of their contribution to policing, and taken together, they are better understood as way to *make policing better* rather than simply understood, in an economic sense, as *making policing happen*.

6.3 An Outsider's Experiences

By virtue of their participation in a voluntary capacity, special constables may take other, less policing-orientated, perspectives into account when making decisions on shift:

I think without [special constables] we would lose a lot of experience and a lot of skills because these people are bringing in knowledge form other places. Some of them are doing degrees, some with similar knowledge to us, criminology, and that sort of thing, but some have a range of other skills that we can use and learn from. On top of that, great local knowledge, working in local pubs and everything else, it's a gap that you can't really fill with anything else. – *from Interview 112, 'Sgt Michael', Scottish Study site.*

As strongly as some of these volunteers may understand their identity as that of a police officer whilst on shift (a theme considered in Chapter 7 of this thesis) there is an acceptance that, in their position as part-time, voluntary officers, there are differences in the ways that they understand the role they are expected to perform. Special constables' perspectives on certain issues are influenced not just by their understanding of themselves as a police officer, but also as a volunteer, and they pull their own experiences and skills into the role. This outside knowledge manifested in a number of different ways, ranging from broad

skill sets with directly transferable skills, to much more niche knowledge that presented itself on shift in very particular circumstances:

Charles was asked to go and speak to a group of kids, aged around 13/14, who were hanging around, literally, near some scaffolding by a local community centre. It was simply to warn them not to hang on the scaffolding, as there were complaints made some night previous to tonight, and they may get in trouble if someone phoned to complain again. Charles, a teacher, spoke to the kids, had a bit of banter, and brushed of the sarcastic remarks and quips that they threw at him, much like I would imagine a teacher would. He was calm, and authoritative, and got the message off clearly, even joking with the kids when appropriate. I could imagine another special, in this position, might not have had a wealth of experience talking to sarcastic teenagers, and may have stumbled in their attempt to convey the message that Charles was able to. I asked him, after the children left, if that was a 'standard' interaction. He responded that he spends all day dealing with kids, so he never had a problem talking to them with a uniform on – *from observation field notes, 'Charles and Victoria', English study site*

This call involved an elderly couple who had posted a cheque as part of a fraudulent scheme. The regular officer lamented the fact that they would be unable to do much about the already posted letter, but Andrew, a postman, told the regular officer that the post would have only been collected a short time ago, and that they might be able to find the postman if they followed a particular route, knowing that the post at another part of town wouldn't be collected yet. We drove off in pursuit of the postman. It was niche, but Andrew's understanding of the postal system was, literally, the only possibility of stopping a potential fraud and catching a potential offender. – *from observation field notes 'Andrew, Day Shift', Scottish study site.*

As we sat in the canteen, which was only for about 15 minutes, Gavin was approached by two separate officers asking about particular pieces of evidence relating to financial crime. Gavin worked for the police as a member of civilian staff, in a department associated with financial crime. His knowledge of particular processes with regard to the recording of evidence was appreciated by the regular officers on shift, who admitted that the processes could be confusing. Rather than waiting for clarification the next morning, or whenever they would be able to contact the 9 to 5 staff amongst their own shift rotation, Gavin's knowledge meant that they could continue with the process then and there, freeing them up for a larger portion of the evening to deal with other things. – *from observation field notes 'Gavin', Scottish Study site.*

The above examples show how a variety of different types of knowledge were called upon from outside the sphere of operational policing and the application of knowledge that might not have been readily available to the police organisation without the input of the special constables on shift. The application of this knowledge provides a basis for the 'specialisation' of special constables; the inclusion of special constables in the work of other departments beyond the response or neighbourhood-based duties of regular officers:

Take fraud for example. The amount of time and money that it might take to train an officer in something like that, never mind a special constable who is out for even less time. You might not be able to make the training or whatever. If you've got a banker as a special constable though, they already know that stuff – *from Interview 203, 'Simon', English study site*

One thing I've done twice now is instructional duties, which was quite good... I've taught a number of new people stop and search legislation, suicide intervention training, I've just taught

the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act, and I like doing that because I have experience of instructing and coaching from my time in the forces and got good reports on that. I prepared the lesson plan and delivered it like I would have done in the forces. – *from Interview 103, 'Harris', Scottish study site*

Whilst accepted by some as a useful string to the special constable's bow, there was not always an acceptance that assigning specials to particular departments, or 'specialisms', was what the Special Constabulary should be doing:

I don't think you can rely on special constables to do the specialised roles as much, because they are not in on a regular basis, definitely use it to assist those specialised areas, but I think assisting is as far as you could go with the time that we are able to give to the role. – *from Interview 204, 'Harry', English study site*

There wasn't a sense that any of the police officers and volunteers interviewed in this study felt as though including special constables in specific departments, or having them fulfil specific roles, was a *bad* thing, but as the above quote implies, it pulls into question what it is that a special is there to do. Stories of specialisation and the secondment of special constables to different departments was seen as vital to a progressive and evolving Special Constabulary and participants in the English study site reflected on the benefits of these secondments:

It's about finding those opportunities: what *can* we be doing? Being a special constable is about reinventing yourself, whether that be through being part of a secondment or working in different departments. We need to find those opportunities. It's about getting the right people in there and finding the right opportunities. It's about asking, 'what's next'? Cybercrime? We want our Special Constabulary to be looking at what policing is doing nationally, and contribute to that – *from Interview 208, 'Elizabeth', English study site*

Harnessing the skills and the knowledge that the special constables represent and finding a way to make best use of the volunteers seems to be met with a sense of excitement across both study sites, but still evoked polarised opinions. It seems that the negative understanding of specialisations of some special constables is tied to the opinion that it represents a break from tradition or an accepted way of doing things; a corruption of the role that the special constables were supposed to be performing. It raises the question of whether a special constable that is assigned to a specialised role or department needs the same amount of training, a uniform, or a warrant card to perform in that role. On the other hand, specialising in specific departments, or police tasks, was seen to be a means to modernise and update the Special Constabulary within contemporary policing.

Additionally, should the role of the special constable as a source of outside skills and expertise be considered a part of the evolution of the Special Constabulary, it raises further

questions about the suitability of calling upon special constables to perform tasks that may be associated with their working life outside of the police environment and the conflict that this might cause. Motivation to volunteer literature has considered the 'escapism' function of volunteering activity (Clary et al, 1991). Special constables performing the same role for the police as they perform in their own daily work life does not align with the expectations of some of the special constables who may be using their volunteering as a mode of 'serious leisure' (Stebbins, 1996). Additionally, one might ask if it is appropriate to suggest that a volunteer be put into a position within an organisation where the expertise and skills that they have developed in their professional life are being used without the prospect of remuneration. Moves to implement specialisations for special constables must be sensitive to the reality that the expectations of the special constables are personal to the individual volunteer, therefore desires to play particular and specific specialised roles in volunteering may or may or not be the sort the sort of experience they want or expect. Whether or not these individual expectations align with the expectations of the policing organisation they contribute their time to is a matter to be considered on a case-by-case basis; ensuring both sets of expectations align is crucial for maintain volunteering commitment (Alexander, 2000; Finklestein et al, 2005).

6.4 A Friendly Face

Knowledge and experience brought from outside of the policing environment can also manifest in ways other than those explored above. Local knowledge and understanding of how to interact and communicate with members of the public was often considered a vital element of the special constable's tool kit. The special constable does not just represent a policing resource but can represent local access to, and representation of, the police organisations they are part of for the communities in which they live and work. Some participants highlighted the opportunities made available to the police in having specials who lived as part of the communities that they worked within:

> Visibility and reassurance, they like to see officers on a job, and that's another way that specials help out and assist. And again, they might see someone they recognise. 'I know I can talk to him, he's decent, I'll tell him what I've seen'. If they don't see a friendly face they might think 'they are going to ask me questions that I do not want to answer', but if they see a friendly face they might come over and tell us something and help us out. – *from Interview 205, 'John', English study site*

There are direct benefits of special constables being part of the communities they are tasked with policing. It was often the more experienced special constables who were most

accepting of this 'village special' role and indicated that their motivations were altruistically aligned. The experience, and general motivation to give something back to society through their work as a special constable, is perhaps best typified by this sense of the importance they assigned to their role as a police officer within their own communities:

I've lived in [the city] all my life and when I get calls, I know where I'm going to. I've lived here all my days, understand the dialect, get what it is, know where I'm going, understand the people. That's what I like, you understand the people behind the crime, and know where the crime happens. It might be a small input, but you can fit in effectively with that team, and I think I'm at a stage where I can just jump in and help out. – *from Interview 104, 'Martin', Scottish Study site*

I like making a difference. I like getting out and about. If there are offences going on, I deal with them, and I enjoy dealing with them because I enjoy protecting the public. I like engaging with people. I do a lot of foot patrol. Going into shops, speaking with people, making sure they are okay. Engaging with those people, building relationships, and building on the links within the community, that's what I enjoy doing. – *from Interview 206, 'Henry', English Study site*

Beyond this, in contrast, less experienced officers were often apprehensive about working within the areas in which they lived and could be recognised. For some, this apprehension was linked to their lack of experience and exposure to what working in those areas might be like:

Could you imagine bumping into people you've arrested? As a special I wanted to help my community. I had a very rainbows and unicorns view of it – sometimes you're dealing with nasty bad people. Most of the time, there is better than bad, but it's your job to deal with the bad ones. – *from Interview 106, 'Agnes', Scottish study site*

I haven't dealt with anyone I recognise yet. I think one day though there will be the case when I need to deal with someone that I know. How I react to that when it happens, I can't really say, I don't know yet. In my own mind I think I'll be fine, but you can tell yourself that, but when it happens, well, will you or won't you? It's just one of those hurdles that you need to cross when you come to it. – *from Interview 203, 'Simon', English study site*

Being a recognisable face meant different things to different special constables, and the duality in its meaning was often related to the age of the volunteer and the amount of experience that the special constable had of working in policing. Youth and inexperience often translated to an anxiety, whereas the more mature volunteers with longer lengths of service were more than happy to play that role within their local communities and saw it as a crucial part of their volunteering, as well as massive benefit to their presence within the policing organisation. There is a balancing act being carried out here, between safety and security on one hand and the importance of the special as a link to the wider community on the other.

In practice, many of the participants lamented the lack of opportunity that they had to play this community facing role. Special constables and regular officers alike were sceptical about the role that special constables actually play in policing local communities, particularly when considering the impact that recent changes to the organisational structures of policing, and the changing demands of police work, have had on the opportunities for special constables to *do* community policing:

…Whether you are responding to calls or whatever, you are still *technically* serving the community, but it could be more community orientated. You are still a volunteer, and some volunteers want to be able to give back to the community. Sure, you are doing that as a response officer, and response is exciting, but I think there should be more opportunity to do community-focused police work. Don't force them, there should be the option there. Even just foot patrols. There're no cops on the beat anymore, use your specials, even a couple of hours a day. The public love seeing cops, and those volunteers might love doing that stuff. – *from Interview 106, 'Agnes', Scottish study site*

When I joined, every village had a local bobby, and that's what I would call being part of the community… I would class myself as part of that community. They knock on my door, and they tell me things. Due to changes in policing, that's not the case anymore. When I first started you had that guy who would walk around, talk to Mrs Miggins, talk to post office, talk to local shop. … That's what we used to call local area policing; things have changed. – *from Interview 201, 'George', English study site*

For special constables and regular officers alike, performing regular duties seems to take priority over community-orientated initiatives, principally due to changes in policing priorities, to which the special constables are beholden along with their regular counterparts. No matter how important their perceived role as a community link is to the individual volunteer, opportunities to play that role are often restricted to chance encounters whilst carrying out jobs that have been asked of them. In both study sites, examples of being a friendly face manifested in situations that often didn't call for that sort of interaction as a means for getting the job done:

We were flagged down as we crawled along the high street in the van by two girls, one of whom used to work as a special constable and recognised them. We stopped the van and had and chat with the girl and her friend, occasionally chatting to others as they passed. It acted almost as a quasi-community engagement – Ed and Arthur did not stop with the intention of engaging with others on the street, but by stopping to speak to a friend, they had inadvertently made themselves available for others to talk to. It was community engagement 'lite', which only came about as a product of the fact that they stopped for five minutes whilst on patrol to speak to a friend – *from observation field notes, 'Ed and Arthur', English study site*

As we neared the end of our patrol around the loch [part of a force-wide initiative to monitor public parks within the study site] we pulled in to check a lay-by. One of the fishermen who had parked up waved for us to stop and checked with Andrew about why the police were patrolling this relatively remote part of the countryside. Andrew spoke to him about the local

initiative that the police were doing, and the fisherman approved, telling him that they were concerned about the potential for unlicensed fishing. Others who were parked nearby joined in the chat. It developed into a bit of an informal public meeting about the concerns of the locals and the police response to them. A sort of community policing surgery, with added midge. – *from observation field notes, 'Andrew, Back Shift', Scottish study site*

Perhaps the benefit of special constables, in relation to their position within local communities, flows from this unavoidable overlap between policing tasks and the geographies of where that policing needs to happen. Particularly in the more rural areas, where the beats of individual police stations comprised of small towns, even smaller villages and, as in the above example, remote parts of the countryside, there is an inevitability that their faces will be recognised, or that they will be approached by citizens desiring to know more about police activity.

Specials are playing this role regardless of their own preferences. In larger towns and cities, as mentioned above, having a desire to be a friendly, neighbourhood cop is not always possible due to the workload and the population that specials are responsible for managing. If a friendly face of a known and recognised special constable is a benefit, it is one that is not necessarily managed around by the policing organisations observed in this study. Often, it is an incidental and situational benefit, which is only ever benefiting the policing organisation when the special constable finds themselves in an applicable scenario. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis (Chapter 1), the use of the Special Constabulary as a means to contextualise and improve local access to policing resources, particularly in Scotland, is a perceived benefit of utilising special constables within policing organisations, particularly in Scotland were policing reform threatens local availability of these resources and promotes 'abstract policing' (Dickson, 2019; Terpstra and Fyfe, 2019; Terpstra et al, 2019). If specials can act as a bridge between the police and the public that has emerged as a result of a shift in police prioritisation, or through the reallocation of policing resources, then more could be done to ensure that the opportunities are made available to special constables which allow them to play a role in lessening this widening gap.

6.5 Internal Affairs

Another benefit that the policing organisation can reap from their special constables is perhaps more niche and relates to a specific set of special constables; those who already work for the policing organisation in civilian and support staff roles. As considered earlier in this chapter (section 6.3), the experience that special constables bring to the policing organisation is an inherent benefit of the volunteers' contribution. For those volunteers who are already

working within the police organisations they volunteer with, the focus moves from bringing in experience from external organisations or professions to enhancing the policing organisation through tying different policing roles together. Interviews with those respondents who worked within the policing organisation in different capacities highlighted a range of benefits that they experienced through their volunteering as a special constable:

'I had already worked for the policing organisation for 3-4 years, and it was almost like an extra to my day job within the force, and 16 hours a month, I can come out and do this as well. I think that doing that helps me in my day job, and my day job helps me in it as well. The benefits of being part of the policing organisation already and speaking to cops about what I was getting up to…I'm more in the loop… being in my day job then helps me with this role, and also helps me to understand the police officers I work alongside are going through. You can't really understand it until you've done it. You have that insight, and that then helps me in my day job. – *from Interview 207, 'Charles', English Study site*

I thought I had a good idea about what policing was, and would be like, but you can go out on a shift, come back to the officer on Monday and think… it never ceases to amaze you what you can be met with. I'm more confident than I was. I've got more skills and knowledge. I joined the police as civilian staff because of it, and it helped me get that job. And both roles [volunteering and day job] complement each other. – *from Interview 107, 'Gavin', Scottish study site*

For these volunteers, their volunteering expanded their knowledge and understanding of the work undertaken by other members of the organisation. For them, the Special Constabulary was a link between their work and those at the front lines of policing, fostering a greater understanding and appreciation of the organisation.

This point only relates to a very specific group of special constables, with only three participating in the study (and two referenced above). However, it is worth highlighting the benefits that these special constables experienced through their unique position as a pre-existing police employee. These special constables already had exposure to the different networks and systems that police officers may require to use on shift, had an understanding of local crime and those that might be involved in it, and had a general sense of the policing environment and atmosphere within which they would be working. They represent a group of potential special constables that are not met with the additional roadblocks such as learning internal systems and may already have a familiarity with other officers, locations and practices within stations or policing areas.

6.6 Pool of Talent

As highlighted in Chapter 3, modern literature on the subject of police volunteering as its subject matter often makes mention of the fact that the special constables utilise their

volunteering experience within the policing organisation as a means to better prepare for an application to become a regular police officer in the future (Bullock and Leeney, 2016; Gaston and Alexander, 2001; Whittle, 2014). Discussion about the role that the Special Constabulary plays as a 'training ground' for new recruits, and issues related to that, were considered by almost every interviewee across both study sites – with the spectrum of attitudes and opinions on the matter expressed at various different levels of the policing organisation:

I joined because I wanted to be a cop after I graduated, to get my foot in the door, to get experience… to see if I liked it… I had the opportunity to go out and do something to aid the application, but also to see if it was for me. I see it as an opportunity to test the water – *from Interview 106 'Agnes', Scottish Study site*

I've always wanted to join the police, it's something I've always wanted to do since school. When I wanted to join, opportunities for jobs were very, very few and far between, so I went into the RAF reserves. I came out of that because I was spending too much time away from my family. With the specials, you're not staying away for two weeks, or a number of days like the RAF. I came out of that and saw that the specials were recruiting, signed up, did the interviews etc, and ended up getting in. I applied for the regulars last year but didn't get past the last assessment. I got a high enough score to get in, but I think they have 150 applications and 20 positions that they need to fill, so they took the people at the top of the scores. I decided then to join the specials. – *from Interview 203, 'Simon', English Study site*

Those volunteers motivated by the idea of becoming a regular officer in future see the Special Constabulary as that step towards their future career, and in some cases, see it as a way to come to a decision about the appropriateness of the job before applying for a position as a regular. There are, even amongst those motivated to join the police force in a regular capacity, concerns about how appropriate a means it is to achieve a higher chance of employment. For some, had they not been motivated to join the regular police force in the first place, the Special Constabulary would have done little to persuade them that it would be an appropriate job for them:

No, absolutely not. If I wasn't wanting to be a regular there would be no point in me being a special constable whatsoever. I know people that are older in service, who don't want a job. But for me, being my age, the stigma is not worth it. People don't want to work with you, why should I give up my time to work with people that don't want me there. – *from Interview 106 'Agnes', Scottish Study site*

There is a potential tension here, between the perceived, and implied, advantages that volunteering can have on a recruit's chances to become a regular in the future, and the opinion that specials and non-special potential recruits are on an equal footing when attempting to join the regulars. In reality, as Whittle (2014) has considered, the blurred lines and potential implications that being a special constable has on an individual's ability to join

the regulars is mismanaged by police organisation and misunderstood by potential recruits. Beyond this argument, around its appropriateness as a route for new recruits to experience policing, the concerns continue. Namely, special constables are concerned about the numbers of volunteers that seek to become regular constables, and the impact this has on the integrity of the Special Constabulary:

There is massive benefit in having been a special. It prepares you; you can't ever really be prepared for what's out there, but being a special give them that grounding… And here's a gripe, we might recruit a special, they go through a station, and three weeks later they join the regulars…That's all came out of my budget. What have I got back for that, three weeks? If I could alter how things are, after two years you can go and become a regular. After two years, you can go, or you can stay with me. That's my only gripe. We invest all this time and money into people, which is good for the organisation as a whole, but it's a determinant to the Special Constabulary. – *from Interview 201, 'George', English study site*

I'm never going to turn around and tell a special that they should or shouldn't join the regulars… but the frustration there is that specials are trained, they come through, they get signed off on their training programme, and then they go to off to be a regular. And then I'm back to square one. I wish there was an influx of those that didn't want to go off and be a regular… It takes a long time, from recruitment right up until attestation and then onto training… to lose them is frustrating. It's fine that there are numbers that want to leave to join the force, but it would be nice to see our numbers topped up too. – *from Interview 208, 'Elizabeth', English Study site*

Whereas most concede that the Special Constabulary is a great way to provide relatively experienced recruits to the policing organisation, there is a frustration that the practice of employing potential regular recruits' as special constables is directly harming the Special Constabulary. For the English study site in particular, there is a grave concern that their internal improvement of their Special Constabulary infrastructure, training and opportunities not only improves the experience of special constables, but in turn, encourages special constables who were not considering joining as a regular to leave their volunteering to pursue policing as a career:

We are a victim of our own success we are doing so well at training our specials, and we lost 40 to the regulars last year. We are rebuilding. That doesn't bother me, for me that's absolutely super, fantastic days, I have no problem with that. You want to stay with me and continue being a special, even better. – *from Interview 201, 'George', English study site*

If the practice of employing special constables is damaging to the Special Constabulary, and the appropriateness of using the Special Constabulary as a means to improve the experience of potential recruits is questioned, then why is it done? One needs to ask if the benefit to the policing organisation – having a keen group of individuals with a certain level of policing experience available as potential recruits – outweighs the losses that

the Special Constabulary experience through the recruitment from their ranks. Although it is seen as problematic, there is an acceptance across the policing organisation, including the specials themselves, that the benefits do outweigh that loss. Several questions still remain about this practice, not least the economic argument, which emphasises that the longer the special constable serves in the volunteering role, the more they offset the costs of their recruitment and training (Whittle, 2014; 2017). Having the Special Constabulary as a source of new recruits for the regular force is, it seems, accepted as good thing across the policing organisation; however, police forces should be more aware of the impact that recruitment from that pool of talent might have on the Special Constabularies that they work alongside.

6.7 'The best of your ability'

Across both study sites, in both interviews and observations, the enthusiasm and commitment of these volunteers is apparent:

> At the start I thought why I am going through all this bother. But now I would never give it up. I'm getting on a bit now, and I don't know how much longer I can do it, but I would love to do it for much longer. I knew if I stuck with it, I would pull through. I didn't enjoy the initial training, and it wasn't what I thought it would be, but once I was out on the front line, where things were happening, I started to find my feet. – *from Interview 105, 'Andrew', Scottish study site*

> I come into a shift thinking 'I have a job to do' and I'm going to get that done to the fullest of my ability – and that's because I enjoy it. I love what I do, and that's why I do it for free… We care about what we do and the people that we serve, so yeah, I don't think the lack of pay effects how we do our job. – *from Interview 204, 'Harry', English study site.*

What was also striking was that, even when the special constable was not necessarily performing tasks that they expected to be performing, there was a general sense of duty among the volunteers. Not only would the special constable carry out whatever it was that was asked of them, but they would strive to perform those duties to the best of their ability; even when the tasks they were asked to perform did not match the expectations they had for their shift:

> We have driven around for over two hours now, and we were still waiting to be called to the firework display, which Charles had specifically come out to assist with. He was apologetic about not getting to attend, mainly because there were a number of other specials policing the event, and he had been keen to let me see how a group of specials worked in that sort of environment. However, he knew that the regulars in this area were struggling with numbers, and if he left and an emergency call came through, he knew they would be understaffed to deal with it. He continued to be apologetic, as we slowly circled the quiet town centre, as fireworks from an unrelated firework display flashed in the distance – *from observation field notes, 'Charles and Victoria', English study site*

In interviews and observations, enthusiasm, commitment, and a desire to help in whatever way the volunteers could was an attitude that permeated the whole Special Constabulary, across both study sites. They were a volunteer, part-time, police officer, willing to do whatever was necessary to provide support to the policing organisation. The universality of that perspective implied that the attitude was attached to the role of the special constable itself, and not simply a predisposition of the individual volunteer that occupied the role. It was a shared understanding that the special constable was a source of support to their regular colleagues – confirming the attitudes expressed in the survey findings in Chapter 5 – and that support might come in different forms:

I wasn't really sure what to expect, I couldn't really picture it. I didn't know what shift patterns looked like for regulars or anything like that. I expected it to be varied, and that was exactly what it has been. On my first shift, I ended up directing traffic after a bus broke down, on a five-entrance junction, and then a couple of weeks ago I was dealing with a dead body. You can be dealing with anything, and that's the beauty of it really. In that respect keeping an open mind and it being very varied, in that respect it was what I was expecting. Since I started my training, we have been discussing the concept of, and trying to reiterate the fact that, Specials are there to support rather than replace – *from interview 202, 'Edward', English study site*

I mean, the force covers a massive geographical area, and they provide huge operational support to policing, numbers have been low, but we are getting them back up. All over the country, I don't think that the public realise the amount of support that the specials give to the police force. There might be a nightshift that the special constables come out and bolster up, and if that special were not on there is going to be huge implications there. – *from Interview 206, 'Henry', English Study site*

I think it's a supporting role and it could be anything they do really, I don't know, depends what their needs are. It depends how the organisation is. Right now, we might be needed as the community officer, and that's fine, but in five years' time, if they've recruited more or whatever, your role might end up being changed slightly. Which is fine by me, I'm not fussed to be honest… as long as I'm making something… making it count. There's no point in coming out and them going 'alright, go stand in the corner for 10 minutes', because that wouldn't be… but if the role happened to change from community focused, to, say, custody, where there are internal things to do, that wouldn't bother me, because that's where the support is needed at that time? See what I mean? – *from Interview, 'Rhona', Scottish Study site*

'Support' for the special constable means filling whatever role is asked of them and performing that role to the best of their ability. It was initially surprising that while there was an attitude that simply 'being a resource' was not *all* the special constables were there to do, if they were needed to simply go out to make up the numbers, or ensure that a regular office could get their work done, then they were willing, sometimes begrudgingly, to occupy that role. Like the case of Charles above, specials, despite a shift not panning out as expected, continue to support the police by filling the spaces that require filling. Also, despite the fact that as a volunteer, they might be expected to have an enhanced degree of liberty in relation

to elements of their working schedules, there is a sense of obligation and commitment that transcends the volunteer identity:

'We returned from the custody suite far later than previously imagined. Ed and Arthur were now almost an hour over their estimated number of hours for this shift, and we still had not returned to the station – the drive to the nearest custody suite was almost thirty minutes in itself, despite the roads being exceptionally quiet at this early hour of the morning. We passed back through the high street, which was only two hours ago filled with people on their way home from clubs and pubs, now completely empty. Once we returned to the station, Ed, and Arthur both remained on shift, now completing paperwork in order to properly hand over to the officers for the morning shift. They estimated they might remain another hour or so until the job was done. Bearing in mind that both Ed and Arthur had worked a full shift of their own day jobs before this, I found their desire to see the job through until the end admirable.' – *from observation field notes, 'Ed and Arthur', English study site*

This attitude persisted across the diverse range of special constables. This sentiment was expressed by multiple volunteers, in different contexts, across both study sites, which suggested a sense that there was a universal understanding within the Special Constabulary that these volunteers played a role in supporting regular officers, regardless of policing organisation or personal motivations. These concepts are discussed further in Chapter 7 in relation to the identity that volunteers have developed in their role as members of the policing organisation.

6.8 Considering the role/roles of the special constables

In fully understanding the contribution of special constables to the policing organisation, limiting the discussion to economic arguments seems to miss the perceived benefits and roles brought to the policing organisation. The varied attitudes presented above in this chapter, not least those that define the special constable as a source of 'support' within policing organisations, captures this perception more accurately; the special constable brings more than just an extra body or providing a cost-saving resource to the police services they volunteer within. They also enhance the quality of policing that the organisation can deliver, rather than just improving the quantity of warranted officers that the police service can deploy. Measuring the special constables using managerial measurements of worth and performance is still useful but can miss the essence of what being a special means to the special constable themselves; being a committed member of the policing family and doing whatever is needed and asked of them to the best of their ability.

This chapter, by reflecting on the way that special constables understand their function as a resource within the structures of policing, suggests that both volunteer characteristics and personal perceptions, alongside the features and structures of the policing

organisation, both play a part in shaping the role of these volunteers, and in defining the value which they assign to their contributions to the police service.

Additionally, these findings have drawn attention to the importance of the special constable's own motivations in the formation of their perceptions of the roles that they play within the policing organisation. Community-orientated motivations manifested into an appreciation of the role that special constables could play as local access to policing resources. Those motivated by a desire to become a regular constable, in some cases, viewed the special constable's role as something akin to an apprenticeship – providing cheap resources to the police organisation while they accrued enough experience to become an employee. These findings contribute to a broader understanding of the way in which volunteer experience is framed by the characteristics of the special constables themselves, and the predispositions they have at the point of entry to the Special Constabulary. The perceived role of the special constable is informed both by the expectations that are placed on them by the policing organisation and by the understanding of the individual occupying that role and the perception they have of their place within the larger structures of policing.

As such, the following chapter of this thesis attempts to develop the understanding of the way that the special constables' role is informed and shaped by the perspectives and motivations of the volunteers themselves; it considers how volunteer motivation constructs special constable identity with the Special Constabulary.

Chapter 7: The Impact of Volunteer Motivation on Special Constables Identity

While Chapter 6 reflected on the special constables' perceptions of the role that they play within the policing organisation and the benefits of their contributions, this chapter deals with the ways in which the special constables' identity is shaped by their motivations for joining the Special Constabulary. This analysis is not only a means by which this study reveals the extent to which predispositions impact on the construction of their identity as members of the policing organisation, but also provides evidence through which it explores broader questions pertaining to policing and volunteering. Additionally, it provides an insight into how these motivations can shift over time, and the features that cause them to change.

To explore the identity of special constables, questions were included which challenge their perceptions of both special constables and regular officers, asking whether they believed special constables were 'volunteers' or 'police officers. The question 'are you a volunteer or a police officer' was purposefully constructed to generate responses that demanded reasoning and reflection and which allowed this study to differentiate between the elements of their role and the experiences they believed played in defining their identity as a special. The excerpts in this chapter are taken from discussions that were generated by exploring the answers to this specific question, and the conversations that emerged as a result of those answers. This analysis was considered in relation to the motivations expressed by the interviewees as being the reasons they chose to join the Special Constabulary, and through this framework, the impact that motivation to volunteer has had in relation to the meaning they assign to the features of their volunteering experiences within policing. What emerged in this analysis was the importance of the volunteers' original motivation for joining the Special Constabulary and how their own desires for volunteering shaped their understanding of their identify in the policing organisation.

7.1 Special constables motivated by a future career in the policing organisation

Those special constables that were motivated by a future career in the police shared common features relating to the symbols of police power and authority. For these specials, these symbols of the policing organisation were important in shaping their perception of whether they considered themselves 'police officers' or 'volunteers':

As soon as I put the uniform on, it's a different person. When you are walking along the street, and you look in a shop window, and you think 'oh, there's a policeman there'. That's you. – *from Interview 201, 'George', English study site*

I'm the face of [this police service] when I put that uniform on. I want to portray myself to the community in a perfect way… people can see you, see your actions and watch what you are doing, as a member of this police service. – *from Interview 206, 'Henry', English Study site*

The uniform represents a means through which the power of the police officer is legitimised in the eyes of those 'outside' of the policing environment; personally, it is seen as a source of pride and purpose (Singer and Singer, 2012; De Camargo, 2016). These comments fit into the rhetoric that conjured the image of the 'hobby bobby', which represents negative connotations – such as arrogance or inflated sense of purpose – in the eyes of regular police officers towards their special constable counterparts (Bennett, 2010). Admiration for the uniform and the other symbols of policing, leaves room to question if there is a superficial element to the motivations of these special constables. The policing uniform has been the focus of studies that have explored the fetishistic nature of the public's attitude towards police organisations across the United Kingdom, aided by media representations of police work and the national historic memory of policing across Great Britain (Reiner, 2010). The images of police power and authority can conjure real, emotive reactions in police officers (Loader and Mulcahy, 2003), which perhaps extends to other actors, such as special constables, associated with policing. For these career-motivated specials, symbols of policing, represent the powers that they were privileged to hold and the responsibility to exercise those powers appropriately.

Research into police officers' own understanding of the symbolic meaning of their uniform also provides insight into the social and cultural contexts these associations take place in (Joseph and Nicholas, 1972; Hertz, 2007). This allows police officers to see the uniform as a means of identifying with the policing family – a group of 'insiders' against those 'others' that seek to threaten what it is that the police are there to protect (Goffman, 1959; Brown, 1996; Chan, 1996). Subsequently, this acknowledges that the uniform plays a part in the construction of police officers' identities, their perception of who they work with, and who they are able to trust and associate with. These symbolic examples of the power, position and processes that are linked to police work are called on by these career-motivated special constables as examples when asked to explain why they see themselves as police officers rather than as volunteers:

I've been in situations where they have seen me coming and they have seen my uniform, and they've said, quite literally, 'what the fuck do you want'. They think you are there to accuse them of something, and in actual fact, you might be there to investigate, or to just reassure and be visible. – *from interview 202, 'Edward', English study site*

Other symbolic features of the policing process held similar levels of importance. Ceremonies such as the passing out parades and the swearing of oaths of loyalty to Queen and country, reinforce the importance of the role that the special constable plays within the policing organisation. Further still, by mirroring the same ceremonies as would be performed by the regular officers they work alongside, the special constables acknowledge that they are being held to the same standards and expectations of their regular counterparts. By swearing the same oaths of allegiance, they internalise their purpose as a member of the policing organisation; they volunteer to maintain the same ideals and standards as their regular counterparts and are held to the same level of expectations as the regulars they work alongside. Research that has focused on the psycho-social implications of these organisational features does point to an understanding that they encourage feelings of purpose, inclusion, and pride (Keiley and Peek, 2002). These symbols of police power and authority are relied upon as evidence by these special constables to show that they are 'police officers' rather than 'volunteers'. This is not simply because they can compare themselves to the experiences of the regular officers, but because they also receive the additional emotional responses to these formal symbols of dedication and importance, confirming that they are expected to behave and act in a way that represents the values of the policing organisation they work within (Bradford and Quinton, 2014):

I have my declaration, from when we qualified, on my desk … it's there to remind me of what I do, why I do, it give me a sense of purpose, of self-worth… when I'm in the role, no matter what I'm dealing with no matter what I'm dealing with… or whether I've had a crap day, I feel like I am who I am. It's a big reminder to me about what I value. – *from interview 202, 'Edward', English study site*

There is the attestation, where the assistant chief constable came, and there were some special inspectors that came, from higher up the rank structure, they didn't need to come to the attestation, but they did, they gave up their time to come in a recognise. You noticed those people there. It makes you feel part of the police. – *from Interview 106 'Agnes', Scottish Study site*

These symbols play an important role in allowing the special constables to feel recognised and reinforces their values as a member of the policing organisation. Some regular officers, however, did not necessarily agree that the 'police officer' identity is necessarily the correct profile under which the special constables can be accurately filed. There was a sense that *thinking* that you are a police officer, and actually *being* a police officer were two separate processes, and whereas the symbols of policing worked to instil a feeling of integration and immersion within the police organisation for the volunteers, being able to

categorise themselves as police officers was less about those passing out parades and uniforms as it was about experience and training:

When you get a probationer, you get crewed-up with the same people, for eight to ten hours a day, and you get to know each other, and challenge them. You know what they are capable of, they gather that experience, and you develop trust in them. With a special, who might come out once or twice a month, for four hours, how can you get trust that quick? That's the difference. – f*rom Interview 216, 'Senior Police Officer', English Study Site*

You can try to treat them as a regular cop, but one without as much depth of knowledge and experience, for the most part though, I would expect them to assist me in whatever I needed them to do. For the most part they can do that. – *from interview 112, 'Sgt Michael', Scottish study site*

It is worthwhile to reflect on the importance of training and expertise, as well as lived and worked experience, as a means by which regular officers legitimise their own power and identity as police officers (ibid). It is perhaps unsurprising that the regular officers interviewed in this study reflected on the differences between the experience and expertise of specials relative to themselves and other regular officers. With there being clear and obvious differences in relation to the length of the training that these volunteers receive, and the number of hours per week that the specials spend on shift, it is difficult to see how regular officers, who place such value on experience and working knowledge as an indicator of their own legitimacy, could comfortably share the claim by career-motivated specials that they are 'police officers' rather than 'volunteers'. When they do make the case for the inclusion of the special constables under the 'police officer' rather than the 'volunteer' banner, they do so, again, with reference to more sentimental or symbolic features of their role:

They have the same [powers], and when they have the uniform on the community see them as a police officer. Therefore, they should be treated like a police officer because they look the part. But in real life, they're not treated the same. We are cops, and we do this 24/7. There are some things we can't do that special constables are able to do. They wear the uniform, and when they are on duty, they are police officers. But we are police officers all the time. Whatever we do affects our jobs, and we are conscious of that. You are a police officer all the time. Specials aren't. Putting the uniform on makes them police officers whilst they have it on. – *from Interview 114, 'Sgt Mary', Scottish study site*

For career-motivated special constables, the symbolic and sentimental features of the policing role, and their interaction and exposure to those features, are the key to the way they understand and legitimise the claims that they are more 'police officer' than they are 'volunteer'. In most cases, the answers that these specials gave during interviews were charged with buzzwords, or reflections that they classified as 'cheesy'. These reflections seemed to reflect the idealistic or sentimentally valued aspects of their work, which they saw as crucial to

the role that they played. This idealism and passion for working with the police service underpinned the answers from the career-motivated special constables; it was clear that the values and the principles that are core to policing were important to their own understanding their role and identity.

There was a difference between the career-motivated special constables' experience in Scotland, compared with those in the English study site. Two such special constables were encountered in the Scottish study site, who were far less likely to share in the opinion that they, and other special constables, were 'police officers' rather than 'volunteers'. From their perceptive, negative experiences with management, organisation and interaction with police officers were responsible for the development of this attitude:

I got the impression that they are being told by their line manager that they need to get their specials out to do so many hours, and that's what they care about. They don't care if you are just sitting about in a kitchen, which I have done so many times, sitting with my paper, because there is no one there for me. All they care about is getting the hours logged on the system. – *from Interview 108, 'Donald', Scottish study site*

Here, the special constables reflect on negative experiences of the policing environment, and how that has prevented them from feeling as though they are a police officer rather than a volunteer. The negative experiences they describe suggests that their interactions with regular officers, and the lack of management around their volunteering experience, lead them to feel as though they were not part of the policing family, which makes them less able to identity with the features of police in the same way as other career-motivated specials do:

I was a special, and I applied for full time and I was told I wasn't good enough. But I'm good enough to go out unpaid. We are told specials *are* proper cops, however, you either are or you aren't, and they are doing this to benefit them, which isn't okay - *from Interview 108, 'Donald, Scottish study site*

I don't feel like a police officer because I thought that would mean I was confident enough to carry out duties, but sometimes I don't think I am. You are a volunteer, but you are meant to be trained to a standard where you can carry out the role of a police officers. By definition, you're volunteering – you go out when you want on your own time, that's 'volunteering'. But when you go out, you shouldn't be made to feel like a volunteer. On duty, you need to be trained to a point where you can do whatever is asked of you. – *from Interview 106 'Agnes', Scottish Study site*

The only reference that these two special constables made to the symbols of policing, specifically the uniform, are given below:

I look young, and I'm not all that tall. When I put the uniform on it makes me look shorter. I think that might make me look like a liability… – *from Interview 106 'Agnes', Scottish Study site*

[Describing the Passing Out Parade] They basically repeat a spiel, about what you are doing, pretty much, I can't remember the words – *from Interview 108, 'Donald', Scottish study site*

Cultural symbols of police power act not only as a source of importance and meaning, but also serve to legitimise the police officer's role within their own perspective (Manning, 1977). However, as a performative symbol of their importance, this demands that the audiences who interpret the meaning of these symbols accept the cultural value that these symbols represent. In this study, career-motivated special constables in England have accepted these values, and subsequently these symbols and ceremonies impact upon the way they perceived their role. From the perspective of the special constables in Scotland, this study has found that career-motivated special constables who have negative experiences of the volunteer management, or negative interactions with regular officers whilst in their role, are less likely to feel this same level of acceptance, and as such, appear more likely to discard their police officer identity. This is either because they do not see themselves as part of the policing organisation due to the lack of positive inclusive behaviour from other members of the policing family, or simply because the negative experiences lead them to reject the same cultural symbols of importance that the other career-motivated specials see as central to understanding their role as that of a 'police officer'. What is perhaps the most interesting point about this finding is that despite these negative experiences, these two special constables never stopped being motivated by a desire to become police officers:

I'm putting my bad experiences down to be a special constable, and I'm hearing some regulars tell me 'don't let the specials put you off'. I want to be a cop, and I'm doing this to get my foot in the door. – *from Interview 106 'Agnes', Scottish Study site*

There was something about this that seemed oxymoronic – if the Special Constabulary provided these potential recruits with an experience of policing and that experience was negative, even if the special constables still desired to be a police officers, why would they continue to voluntarily give up their time when they were continually met with negative experiences? In the cases of these two special constables, there seems to be an attitude that once you are in the door there is an unexpressed obligation to remain a special constable, in order to maintain their chances for regular recruitment in the future:

If you're 19 years old, in an interview [for the regulars] and you have two people with authority, perhaps a Chief Inspector is there, and they say to you, 'you should become a special'. If you want to join the police, you don't feel like you have much of a choice. I can't speak for anyone

else, but I wouldn't be surprised if some people felt coerced. – *from Interview 108, 'Donald, Scottish study site*

I was going to leave, and I emailed my coordinator. They emailed me back and basically told me that if I wanted to join the regular cops that 'I wouldn't leave if I were you'. I think they wanted to be helpful, but it felt like…a threat. If I leave will it go against me? I didn't go out for months. – *from Interview 106 'Agnes', Scottish Study site*

For these special constables, participation as a special constable to increase career opportunity can have the unintended consequence of generating pressure to maintain their volunteering activity; this, in turn, challenges the voluntary nature of the role. If this is the case, it raises serious questions about the way in which the policing organisations understand their volunteers and whether volunteering experience and satisfaction is a priority. If the Special Constabulary is a 'training ground' where special constables can gain experience of policing and develop, future regular constables (Pepper, 2014; Dominey and Hill, 2010), then ensuring that there are support structures in place to enhance the experience of volunteers can facilitate the integration of the special constable into the cultures of policing they desire to be a part of. Currently, it could be argued career-motivated special constables are something of a captive audience; there is sense that the organisation does not need to dedicate any more time or resources to the development of their volunteer experience. There is a danger that the structures in place to support them do not need to be developed or improved, due to the implication that leaving will result in negative consequences on their chances of joining. The ethical implications of this – if this is truly the mindset around the development of career-motivated volunteers' commitment – should not be ignored. If the role of the Special Constabulary is that of a training ground, and that is a role that the police organisation value, then ensuring a positive experience for those special constables motivated to become regular constables should be valued in the same way.

7.2 'Value' motivated special constables, or 'career' specials

'Career' specials, introduced in Chapter 3, are those volunteers identified by police organisations as motivated by a desire to remain a special constable for prolonged periods of time, not by a desire to leave and become a regular constable, which represents a longer service and subsequent better value for money for policing organisations (Callender et al, 2018; Whittle, 2014). Rather than identifying their motivation as being centred around a future career in policing, the motivation of a 'career' special is linked to a desire to volunteer for the policing organisation for more altruistic reasons; *value* motivations as defined in Clary et al's (1998) Volunteer Functions Inventory (Clary et al, 1998; see Chapter 3, section 1).

Rather than volunteering to improve their own opportunities, they volunteer for the benefit of the police service itself, or for the community that the police service is required to serve.[1]

'Career' specials in both Scotland and England share a commonality when talking about their identity as a volunteer or a police officer in that they construct this identity through their understanding of the organisational, and more administrative, elements of their relationship with the police organisations of which they are part. The more experienced, and more mature, the volunteer, the more likely they were to understand their role as that of a volunteer rather than that of a police officer. This, it would seem, flows from their own perception of the role that they play relative to the employer/employee relationships that regular officers have with the policing organisation. These special constables often relied on concepts such as number of hours worked, remuneration, and levels of training and skills as reasons why did not identify as police officers, comparing themselves directly to the experiences of the regulars they worked with:

Justin: Can I say both [volunteer and police officer]?

Me: What about the role blurs the lines?

Justin: I suppose it's because I don't have to do it. It's not a job. I do it because I enjoy it, and if I didn't enjoy it then I would just stop. That's it really, that's what volunteering is. I don't need to do it. – *from Interview 209, 'Justin', English study site*

Like I said, I don't think I would do this if I was paid, you can pick and choose, that's what volunteering is, you aren't expected, outside of the 16 hours a month, you can do it how you want. It's not just about the pay, it's the flexibility, and it's that choice that I enjoy about it – *from Interview 205, 'John', English study site*

Whereas the career-motivated special constables, discussed above in this chapter, had a more idealistic understanding of their identity within the police service, 'career' specials were more influenced by a pragmatic understanding of their role. This suggested an idealist/realist divide between career-motivated special constables specials motivated by their values when it came to self-identification within the policing organisations. Whereas career-motivated specials are more likely to draw on symbols and ceremonial features of the policing environment to prove to themselves that they are a police officers, the direct contrast between the practical elements of the Special Constabulary and the regulars they work alongside stifles

[1] A note should be made here about the nature of the terminology used in this analysis; 'career-motivated' special is a volunteer motivated by the prospect of a *future paid career* as a regular officer. A 'career' special is a volunteer motivated by the prospect of *long-term contribution to the police service in their role as a volunteer*.

the ‘career’ special’s ability to see themselves as a police officer. Even those ‘career’ specials who had a more idealistic perspective were bound by the more realistic reflection on the position that they occupied within the police service, and the identity that they constituted for themselves:

I love my job, and I’m good at my job, but since I was a young laddie, I’ve been fascinated by being a cop, fascinated by cops. If I wasn’t in my current job, I would be a cop. I would love to join, but I need the safety net of my current job. I’m kind of locked into that. If I joined now, I would need to drop my wage, I could be made to work anywhere, I would lose any control I had. – *from Interview 104, ‘Martin’, Scottish Study site*

By situating their experiences in the context of their other commitments, value-motivated specials reflected on their identity relative to that of the paid, employed police officer. Ironically, by defining themselves as separate and different to their regular officer colleagues, this realist or pragmatic attitude reflects a far more ‘accurate’ representation of the values shared by police officers presented in studies of policing culture (McCarthy, 2013; Myhill and Bradford, 2013). This may represent something of a paradox. As ‘career’ specials have spent more time interacting within the policing environment that the shorter-lived, career-motivated special constable, they may adopt more of a realist attitudes towards their work. By adopting the police services culturally constructed and realist attitude, these specials define their identity relative to their everyday careers and their obligations outside of the policing organisation. As a result, it could be suggested that their pragmatic or cynical similarities to regular officers’ perspectives leads them to understand their identity as more volunteer than police officer. The more like a police officer they become, and the further they share in the culture of policing, the further from the police officer identity they position themselves.

Considered another way, perhaps it is the case that the longer a special constable spends observing the differences between police officers and special constables, the more they differentiate between their role and the role of the police officers around them. Understanding their role in relation to the expectations that the policing organisation places on them was indicative of the ‘career’ special’s perception of their role within the organisation and how they had come to understand their place within the organisational framework.

For those that have not and do not see the police as a potential career, they are not as quick to identify with the police officer identity, as there does not exist the same level of desire to see themselves as part of the regular policing organisation than there is among career-motivated special constables. They are content to remain as volunteers within the organisation rather than seeking to be recognised, either by others or by themselves, as a

police officer. Being content with their place within the policing organisation was a perspective shared across the more mature 'career' specials across both study sites:

I think it's a supporting role, you quite often get a donkey job, like sitting with a prisoner. That doesn't bother me, I'll sit with them and have a blether. I happy to do that. – *from Interview 102, 'William', Scottish study site*

I think that we are there sometimes to be a corroborator for regulars, but that's a role that we can play, and if that's where I can be helpful, as backup to a regular, then that's the best thing I could do. – *from Interview 105, 'Andrew', Scottish study site*

These reflections highlight the way that value-motivated specials interpret their position in relation to the policing organisation – they are content to supplement the police officers they work alongside. They define their role in relation to the support they provide to the policing organisation, which in turn, forces them to reflect on their position in relation to the regular constables they work with. Whereas the career-motivated special constable draws on the symbolic features of the policing organisation to construct an understanding of their role, 'career' specials defend their volunteer identity by drawing attention to these other elements of their volunteering, which inherently contrast with the role of regular officers. This construction of volunteer role-identity has been considered in the past by various authors (Finklestein, 2011; Finklestein et al, 2005; Grube and Piliavin, 2000) and appears to be the result of this paradoxical correlation between experience and perception of role. The longer a special constable spends within the policing environment, the less likely they are to define their role as that of a police officer, and the less likely they are to find their identity within the symbolic features of the structures of policing.

7.3 The impact of motivation

In summary, special constables' motivations to volunteer have an impact on the way that they understand the policing environment and their identity within that environment. There is something of a 'romanticism' that accompanies the career-motivated special constables' appreciation of the symbols and ceremonies of policing, which is not echoed by those who express a more value-based motivation. On the other hand, 'career' specials understand their volunteering experience in a far less idealised way and draw on their life experiences to explain their position (Callender et al, 2018; Whittle, 2014). These shared experiences within motivational groups were expressed across both study sites, adding to the emerging characterisation of special constables based on the motivations they have for contributing to the policing organisation.

Thinking critically, it is important to remember the nature of motivation as a complex mixture of multiple motivations, rather than focusing on one that is the most predominant in volunteer's minds (Burns et al, 2006). Reducing the motivations of special constables to one prominent motivation would be to miss this complex nature of volunteer motivations. This complexity is discussed further in Chapter 12 of this thesis, but here it should be noted that, within this study, individual motivation was reduced to the motivation that the respondents in the study considered to be the most prominent when questioned in the interview. This was done in pursuit of a means by which to categorise the experiential differences between special constables and in pursuing potential explanations for differences in their perceptions of themselves. Future research into special constables' motivations may seek to enhance this and to consider the interaction between different sorts of motivations. The scope of this study, however, did not allow for a more complex reflection on motivation.

These findings confirm what this thesis set out to explore further: the motivation of volunteers plays a role in shaping volunteer understanding and perception of their role; and the features of volunteering which they see as important. Further still, motivation defines the way that these special constables experience policing. The findings suggest there is an ideological element to this: that the motivations of police volunteers directly impact on the features of policing they see as valuable and meaningful in their experience.

This chapter has highlighted the interconnectedness of motivation, both with regards to the identities that the volunteers are constructing for themselves within the policing organisation, and to the relationship between motivations and volunteer officer's values. This points towards the existence of a range of types of special constable, defined by experience and motivation, which seems to transcend the boundaries of geography.

The claims made from these findings are not limited to either the Scottish or English study sites: they appear across both. This thesis provides some basis for a UK-wide definition of different types of special constables. If certain motivations of special constables are universal, then a definition of special constables constructed in relation to those motivations can have an international relevance and reach. To explore this further, the next chapter considers the different organisational features of policing in both Scottish and English study sites, to explore the ways in which the policing organisation specifically impacts on the experiences of special constables. If motivation shapes a volunteer's understanding of their

identity and the ways they construct value in their role, what impact do the organisational features of policing have on the way that they express these values, and perform that role?

Chapter 8: The Impact of Police Organisational Features on Volunteers Experiences

The previous chapter highlighted the impact that the volunteers' individual motivations have on the way that special constables understand and construct their identities within the policing organisation. However, as was highlighted in Chapter 3, the environment in which that volunteering takes place also plays a role in shaping volunteering experiences. The interaction between the volunteers expectations, and the length to which these expectations can realised within that volunteering environment, generates additional context for the ways in which volunteers in those environments understand the role they play within that space (Finklestein et al, 2005, Musick and Wilson, 2008). Further still, the literature around police culture (specifically Chan, 1999) has explored the impacts that the policing environment can have on those who work within it, and shows how an individual's understanding and experience of the policing world plays a dynamic role in shaping their perception of their identity within that environment.

In order to better understand the interplay between motivation to volunteer and the environment in which that motivation is to be pursued and realised, this chapter explores the various features of the policing organisation that were observed as having a bearing on the way that the individual volunteers came to understand the role that they were playing across both study sites. Specifically, it considers the concept of 'independence' and autonomy in relation to special constables and the ways in which the organisational structures of the Special Constabulary in both study sites shape and influence volunteers' understandings in relation to these concepts. Then, the rank structures, or lack thereof, within the two observed Special Constabularies is considered, and the implications of this structural, organisational feature are explored with reference to the special constables' own experiences.

8.1 Independence in the Special Constabulary

In England, the concept of independence was exceptionally important for those volunteering within the Special Constabulary; 'independence' was a defined characteristic of particular special constables, which indicated they had gathered substantial evidence to be considered a competent police officer who could be entrusted to work autonomously on particular tasks. In Scotland, the process and procedures surrounding the legal requirement of corroboration (defined in Chapter 2 and discussed in Chapter 6) meant that autonomy and working independently were not core features of the special constable's typical experience. This contrast provided an interesting illustration of two contrasting perceptions of what

autonomy and independence meant to English and Scottish special constables and how those understandings impacted on their volunteering experiences.

In the English study site, basic training for special constables follows the Student Officer Learning Assessment Portfolio (SOLAP) model, used by regular officers in training, which involves a systematic checklist of competency-based evidence that a special constable is required to complete within the two-year probation period. This training was monitored through a structured review system, which was handled by a combination of senior – often ranking – members of the Special Constabulary and regular officers. Inability to provide sufficient evidence within the prescribed period could result in the volunteer being asked to leave the Special Constabulary. Successfully providing evidence granted the volunteer 'independent' status, meaning that they were able to go out on patrol without the accompaniment of another special constable or regular officer. This 'learning on the job' style of training special constables is in keeping with the literature, which highlights the value that policing organisations place on 'experience', rather than 'education', when it comes to evaluating an officer's level of competence or understanding of the job (Haynes, 2009; Paoline and Terrill, 2007).

When compared with the Scottish study site, the experience of training is quite different. For the Scottish specials, each new recruit follows a training schedule that takes place across a time period of ten weekends, covering basic legislation and officer safety training, after which they can be considered ready to volunteer in the role of special constable. After the new recruits take part in this training specials are paired up with other regular officers to complete their shifts and the tasks associated with them. The concept of 'independence' is not a feature of their training, and from this study's observations, 'independent' special constables were rare in Scotland. Opportunities for special constables in Scotland to work alone, or work with another special, were exceptions to the rules rather than the status quo. The observations in both study sites provide examples of the different sorts of shifts that the special constables were involved with, and shows the differences between 'independent' special constables across both policing organisations:

> For the first time in Scotland, I was out with a special constable on their own, however, I was not necessarily convinced that there would be much 'action' … For him, engaging with the community was important. He was able to speak and chat to a few of the visitors to the park, and they were genuinely interested in engaging with him. I was, however, left questioning how much of this shift was going to be spend patrolling around here, and whether this was actually

the special constable 'performing duties' or simply 'being on duty'. – *from observation field notes, 'Andrew, Back Shift', Scottish study site*

The road that the special constable was placed at [to direct traffic] was particularly busy. This junction was to be closed for the parade, but it was clear that it was normally used as a means to avoid driving through the town centre. The special constable was particularly busy directing traffic and communicating with the drivers to ensure they could get where they needed to go. Some of these drivers seemed annoyed at the diversion, and I realised that there was actually potential for this sort of duty to end in some tension between the special and the public, particularly due to the amount of traffic coming through this way. Throughout, the special constable was communicating with others, listening, and responding to what was going on across the radio… The half dozen special constables that had helped to police this event all had a role to play and had delivered on their duties without a hitch. They knew what role they had to play and felt confident in their ability to do it. The commanding officer thanked them all in the briefing at the end of their shift. – *form observation field report, 'Remembrance Day', English Study Site*

In Scotland, corroboration seems to be a key feature that restricts how far special constables can be used without the inclusion of regular officers in their shift. However, the nature of corroboration's causation in this lack of independence remains to be seen. It could be the case that Scottish specials are not trusted or seen as competent enough to be allowed to carry out tasks which might involve the collection and gathering of evidence without the supervision of a more experience and trained regular constable. There is no reason why two special constables could not rely on one another to provide appropriate corroboration for the evidence they have gathered – the need to be exclusively paired up with a regular officer is not necessarily required to satisfy the evidential burden of corroboration. As such, there may exist a fear across the Scottish police service that allowing special constables to operate without the oversight of a regular constable could lead to inadequate evidence gathering and subsequent loss of convictions:

I was a special, and now I'm two and half years in the job as a regular, and I still don't know everything. The learning curve is so vast, it's so steep. The only way that you can become competent is repetition, day in, day out. Staggered shifts mean that it's a lot more difficult to learn things, and you are not doing it repetitively. The last thing I would want to do is give any sort of responsibility to a special constable, they just don't have the knowledge and experience, and I can say that because I was one. I've seen the difference. – *from Interview 111, 'Sgt Malcolm', Scottish Study site*

It might simply be the case that the special constables in Scotland are better utilised as an extension of the regular constables they work alongside. If the policing organisations do indeed see special constables as 'walking corroboration' it would imply that Police Scotland value volunteers within their organisation as a resource to bolster numbers on individual shifts, rather value them their own particular skill sets or as a link to the public (a perspective

that I warn against in Chapter 6 of this thesis). Special constables are aware that an attitude existed across regulars who questioned the competence of the volunteers, but did believe that it was a dying breed of officer that thought that way:

> Years ago, when I joined, I used to get told that the regulars didn't like specials…. Last year, 53 of our specials became regulars in this force. We've infiltrated the regulars, and people know about the specials. They know that we are well trained, and they know that when we come out on duty, they are not just a passenger, they are going to play their part. – *from Interview 208, 'Elizabeth', English Study site*

To some extent, the special constables understood that their levels of competency were not equal to those of a regular constable:

> I don't think you can be. I don't think you could ever be as competent as someone that is doing it day to day. If someone came out with me, trying to do [my day job], one day a week. I couldn't expect him to do the job to the standard that I could do it to… I don't think they have the experience or the skills that you would be able to expect them to operate to the same standard as a regular. – *from Interview 105, 'Andrew', Scottish study site*

In interviews with regular officers, some expressed concerns about the ability of special constables to work independently. The specials, in contrast, expressed a desire to apply more of their time and skills to the Special Constabulary. This suggests a disconnect between the expectations of the special constable and regular officers in relation to what these volunteers can achieve in Scotland. Literature on the subject of volunteering highlights the importance of pulling together the expectations of both organisation and volunteer (Finklestein et al, 2005, Musick and Wilson, 2008; Rousseau, 1990). With regulars aware of this disconnect, this could lead to an understanding across Scottish specials that despite desires to do more within, and bring more to, the policing organisation, there always exists an attitude across regular officers that they are only ever amount to walking corroboration.

What is most noticeable across both study sites, in relation to the competencies of the special constables are the differences in the extent to which police organisations include special constables in various aspects of policing, and their attitudes towards allowing special constables to work independently without the oversight of regular officers. In the Scottish study site, two special constables working together were observed. This, however, was an exception to all other shifts observed in Scotland, where it was always the case that a special constable worked alongside a regular officer:

> The next part of the shift was spent patrolling those roads, following which, they decided that they would set up and check for speeders near a long stretch of road near a petrol station. They were trained in using the equipment, and as such, could set up and check for speeders without

needing the input of a regular officers that had the relevant training. – *from observation in the Scottish Study Site, 'Robert and Daniel'*

When the observations in the English study site began, it was clear that this exception in Scotland was the status quo in England and Wales. Specials there often worked independently of regular officers, and even when a special constable was working towards their 'independent' status, they were just as often paired with another special constable, who had already achieved that status, than they were paired with a regular officer. Fundamentally, both organisations appear to have different attitudes towards the concept of independence within the Special Constabulary. In Scotland, either due to corroboration, lower numbers of officers or concerns with volunteer competencies, being on a shift without the supervision of a regular constable was a rarity. The observations highlighted that the only times that a special constable would complete tasks on any shift with regular supervision – other than the one example given above Robert and Daniel – were when the tasks performed by the special constable had a very limited chance to require the volunteer to call on their police powers.

In these scenarios, the specials themselves expressed their satisfaction with performing these tasks. This satisfaction seemed to flow from the fact that they were carrying out tasks on their own and could demonstrate that they were capable of carrying out tasks without regular supervision. The delivering of court citations, for example, is a time-consuming job for police officers in Scotland (described as a 'necessary evil' by the regular officers in this study) and regular officers were deeply appreciative of special constables who were willing to give up their time to help deliver them. Although these sorts of tasks were, in comparison to most other tasks associated with response shifts, relatively dull, the specials found great pride in the fact they knew they could complete an important job, and they could do that without 'using up' another officer, allowing them to get on with other tasks and responsibilities they might have:

Sometimes there's no point in being a gooseberry in a car when there might be an officer there that is being paid to do it. I've done the job a long time, and you find value in the little things that you can do on your own to free up officers and help them take a load off. Citations definitely, because that one of the main jobs that police stations need to get through, to get people to court. – *from Interview 103, 'Harris', Scottish study site*

Volunteer literature sheds light on this feature of the special's understanding of their role and the tasks they perform. Smaller tasks can be viewed by volunteers as a major source of pride and importance; this importance is defined by the parameters constructed by the organisational framework and the attitudes of others within that organisation. Where

opportunities to become involved in these important pieces of work manifest, the volunteers acknowledge and internalise their importance, and see their contribution as meaningful participation in the organisation (Cuthill and Warburton, 2005; Musick and Wilson, 2008). In the context of policing, the enthusiasm that these volunteers have for contributing to the police service through involvement in a range of different tasks becomes apparent; this enthusiasm is not necessarily dependant on the level of excitement or banality the task might seem to present. Special constables attribute meaning and importance to the support and extra capacity they represent to the policing organisation by participating in these tasks, rather than being attributed to the form those tasks might take, or the quality of that task's content.

In the English study site, 'independence' status had become part of the parlance of the specials in that area. Working towards 'becoming independent' was part of the experience of being a special constable. As such, the general practices in the English study site contrasted with the general rule in Scotland. Upon completion of the SOLAP, special constables were free to patrol on their own and deal with problems without the oversight of regular constables. Whereas in Scotland the two experienced specials who worked on shifts together was an oddity, in the English study site, two specials working together was commonplace. In England, most observations conducted in this study concerned two special constables working together on response shifts, dealing with some of the most serious of calls that were witnessed during the field work:

[the panic button had been pushed on a radio of one of the regular officer's on shift, which resulted in available officers, including Victoria and Charles, responding rapidly to the call for assistance] Having not really witnessed any 'serious' incidents up until this point, I was somewhat nervous heading at high speed towards the officer who needed assistance. The special constables seemed calm, discussing what they needed to do and what they might find there. It dawned on me that up until this point, I had no context for the danger that special constables might face. Travelling towards danger, relatively quickly, placed the risk that special constables can face into reality. – *observation in the English study site, 'Charles and Victoria'*

The call itself involved a domestic altercation, and an assault on the officer who had raised the alarm. After the incident, I spoke to the special constables involved:

They told me that they needed to think clearly, but there is always a sense of dread when you hear the panic button. The panic button suggests that something has gone wrong, and they didn't know what they might have encountered when they arrived at the scene. They told me that they are trained to be safe… the panic button indicates the opposite of that; that things are not safe, and that something has gone wrong… I considered my observations in Scotland in light of this and realised that I had never seen special constables face danger or risk like this. I wondered, with their lack of 'independence' in these scenarios, how one might have reacted,

and secondly, whether they would have been able to respond at all. – *observation in the English Study Site, 'Charles and Victoria'*

When contrasted with the field notes from observations in the Scottish study site, there was a clear illustration emerging that the special constables in England and in Scotland understood their roles, particularly in relation to independence, in different ways. The more opportunities this study had to observe English special constables working independently of regular officers gave more context for the attitudes they expressed about the aversion which they had to being 'seat covers' (see Chapter 6), or being seen to be a burden rather than a contributing member of the policing organisation. Whereas the more mundane or less exciting jobs may have not appealed to English special constables – as it didn't feel as though they were having as meaningful a contribution – Scottish special constables were happy to help with whatever tasks they could assist with, regardless of how mundane or 'important' they might have seemed. Worth and value which each group of special constables assigned to the tasks they performed were intricately linked to how they understand their own capacity to carry them out autonomously and independently. In Scotland, where there were limited opportunities to work without oversight, the smaller tasks which did not require supervision from a regular were seen as essential and valuable. The same tasks might not be viewed with such value and importance by an English special constable, who knows they can contribute in other, potentially more exciting ways, due to their recognised competence, independence and autonomy.

In the English study site, special constables worked together frequently, they knew each other, and some even spent time together outside of their voluntary shifts. In Scotland, special constables working together was the exception rather than the rule: they had minimal contact with other specials on the occasions that they were the subject of an observation for this study. In England, the structures and organisation that allowed special constables to work without regular supervision – and the opportunity for these unsupervised special constables to display their own competencies – had an impact on the way that the special constables developed comradery between other members of the Special Constabulary, and as explored above, impacted on their own understanding of the jobs they perceived as meaningful and important.

8.2 Rank Structure

In the English study site, the Special Constabulary had a rank structure, which broadly follow the same hierarchical structure and terminology that was used by the regular police

officers. Volunteers begin as special constables, but could progress to special sergeants, special inspectors, special chief inspectors and ultimately, Chief Officer. In Scotland, no such rank structure exists. One contact within the division of Police Scotland made mention of a rank structure which existed locally for special constables within their division prior to the reforms and Police Scotland centralisation. However, at the time of this study's observation, it was no longer a feature of specials' volunteering. Special constables remained *constables* during their volunteering experience within the Scottish study site.

This difference raised questions about the special constable's experiences of two different organisational frameworks. Rank, as literature suggests, is a core feature of policing organisations which impacts on police officers understanding of place and purpose within the policing environment (Waddington, 1999; Loftus, 2010). The hierarchical structures of police organisations become a fundamental feature not only for the purposes of organisation and delegation, but also for defining the ways in which individuals integrate into, and interact within, the culturally constructed environments in which these rank structures operate. As such, understanding the ways in which the presence of a rank structure impacts specials in the English study site, contrasted against the absence of rank in Scottish study site, presented an opportunity to observe how this feature impacts on the way that these volunteers perceive and take ownership of their role.

Rank structures are a feature of occupational culture literature, often with regard to understanding employees' feelings of power within companies in relation to those other members of the organisation in different ranks. Workman-Stark (2017), in her work on police culture, considers how police officers' experiences are contextualised by the dynamic relationships that officers have with rank. She draws upon Schein (2017) and his reflection on the way in which rank within organisations impacts on workers' values. For police officers, rank can manifest itself in a separation of front-line, operational police officer, and those of higher rank, which can lead to a feeling of disconnect between those at a different rank (Workman-Stark, 2017). Through rank, police officers understand their place within the organisation through the ways in which the values associated with their rank manifests itself in relation to officers' perceptions of their own authority and legitimacy.

Notably, Workman-Stark (ibid) claims that those in lower rank are often more liable to feel used like a resource rather than as a colleague by those in higher ranks; the feeling of being seen as a resource was an issue that was raised by those special constables in Scotland,

highted in Chapter 6. Specials in the Scottish study site perpetually remained at constable rank and this could account for the perception that existed across special constables within Scotland that the role they played was that of a resource rather than that of individual member of the police service with their own skills and experiences. Does the existence of a rank structure, then, make special constables feel more like a police officers than volunteers? The interviews with special constables give mixed answers to this question, namely because the responses they have given when considering the impact of a rank structure (or the absence of one) suggested that they had not given much thought to the impact that the rank structure might have. It was difficult for those in the Scottish study site to consider what might be their experiences of a rank structure might be like given that they had no experience of the same sort of rank structure enjoyed by the English special constables. Conversely, it was difficult for those respondents in the English study to comment on what their volunteering might look like without one. It was only when answers were compared across study sites that more nuanced reflection on the rank structures importance became clear:

> We manage ourselves, in a force this size, with a mix of urban and rural. You couldn't possibly look after all the specials that we have, particular in the rural areas, if we didn't have sergeant. – *from Interview 208, 'Elizabeth', English Study site*

> I wanted to be a special sergeant and I've done the job for a while now. I really wanted to be part of making this place better. I don't think it's easy, and it think that trying to make something better takes more work, but its, I don't see it as a promotion in the case of 'I get to tell others what to do', I see it as a way to improve my skill set – *from Interview 207, 'Charles', English Study site*

Rank is a means through which special constables feel recognised and appreciated by the policing organisation. The rank structure gives the special constable a deeper understanding of the position they occupy within the policing environment while also acting as a source of recognition for those volunteers who have been there for extended periods of time:

> In terms of the rank structure we have the titles the same as the regulars, we don't have the same insignia, and I actually think that our ranks are respected in this force, even across the regulars. I certainly think even as [ranking special officer], all the regulars, I wish they would stop calling me ma'am in the supermarket, that's a bit much. – *from Interview 208, 'Elizabeth', English Study site*

> …one of the responses [regular] sergeants there, I've known him a long, long time, when he got promoted, I was still calling him sergeant. I told him I what specials I had, I was calling him sarge – he stopped me and told me that I was to call him by his first name. – *from Interview 207, 'Charles', English Study site*

Whereas regular police officers would experience an increase in operational authority as they moved up the promotional ladder within their rank structure, specials within the English study site acknowledged that the 'authority' associated with rank was less operational and more administrative. Special sergeants were responsible for assessing volunteers appropriate for becoming special constables, for organising communication between the volunteers and for organising shifts. Special Inspectors were involved in disciplinary processes within the Special Constabulary and also played a role in liaising with regular counterparts to enhance the role that the Special Constabulary plays in conjunction with the regular constabulary to achieve local, regional, and national goals. This administrative responsibility was still embraced by the special constables as acknowledgement of their success within the policing organisation: an acknowledgement of their commitment to the Special Constabulary reflected in their enhanced role within the organisation and administration of the other volunteers. In some cases, the authority they held and responsibilities they had moved beyond administration. One special sergeant highlighted the responsibly that they were given in organising special constables in conjunction with regular officers while policing a local event. Additionally, one regional event within the English study site was policed entirely by the Special Constabulary, organised, and led by ranking specials. There was a great sense of pride that was associated by the specials that policed the event and the role that their rank structure play in facilitating that:

There was [regional event] the other week, that's a massive event, lock down, big night-time economy. That was ours to run, and they trust us to do that. We pull it off. I've been on the senior leadership course with the regular chief officer team, so I know what to expect and how to lead on those occasions. That's great. – *from Interview 208, 'Elizabeth', English Study site*

This sort of input from the Special Constabulary is possible through the presence of the rank structure; the support that the ranking special constables are given to take on that additional responsibility and the organisational framework that it imposes on the volunteers, allows volunteer led operations to take place. This, in turn, adds to the feelings of independence and ownership experienced by the special constables. These testimonies about the importance of the rank structure contrast sharply with the way in which Scottish specials, and indeed their regular counterparts, considered the prospect of a rank structure in Scotland:

I think if I was a regular then I would like [a rank structure], but I don't aspire to being promoted as a special. I know that it exists in England, but I'm not sure it's necessary. I suppose there might be good encouragement, a sergeant that knows your experiences. But I think that's the role that the regular sergeant plays. I don't think it's necessary. – *from Interview 105, 'Andrew', Scottish study site*

I think it's too much. If another special told me what to do, through some formal power, I would want to tell them to fuck off. If one of them asks me to do something, like, 'could you do that for me', that's fine. But implementing a power structure, things get a little complicated. Would special sergeants have authority over regular constables? If not, why not? It's not what where are there for. – *from Interview 102, 'William', Scottish study site*

These reactions are perhaps indicative of the importance or symbolic nature that rank structure and hierarchy plays within policing organisations. The notion that presenting volunteers with a similar rank structure as their regular counterparts would in some way undermine the authority of regulars is an important reminder of the place of the rank structure in the perceptions of both regulars and the volunteers – albeit misinformed given the largely administrative responsibility attached to rank in the English context.

The differences between the English and Scottish special constabularies are perhaps best viewed through their differences in relation to rank structures. In England, the rank structure facilitates independence, demonstrates progression through an organised hierarchy, shows recognition through the promotion of individual volunteers, and is seen as a symbol of pride and aspiration for those within the Special Constabulary. In Scotland, the idea of including a rank structure was seen as 'unnecessary' and potentially threatened the line between regular and volunteer. In an environment where their independence and discretion are limited by the organisational frameworks in place, rank as a symbol of power and authority may not necessarily align with the perceptions they have of the role of the special constable. This contrast, when taken with the other examples in this chapter of the differences between Scottish and English volunteer experiences of being a special constable, builds an important picture of the way that the two groups of volunteers are impacted by the different features of their policing organisations.

8.3 The Impact of Organisational Features of Policing

This section highlights that the experiences of the Special Constabulary are shaped by the way that the policing organisations build infrastructure around their volunteering. For this study, these findings highlight that it is not simply motivations of volunteers, and the impact of these motivations on their perceptions, that shape the special constables' perceptions of their role and the sort of experiences they can expect within the policing organisation. The role of independence as a definitive characteristic of special constables; and rank structure, – as an organisational and administrative framework, which developed the Special Constabulary in the English study site as a standalone body that operated parallel to the regular constables they worked alongside - played a part in developing the special constables'

perceptions of identity and function. In Scotland, the impacts of corroboration, which made independent working for special constables a rare occurrence and the lack of rank structure had something of an opposite effect. In valuing the more mundane job as a source of support for regular officers and by seeing a rank structure as a potential threat to the established relationships between the Special Constabulary and regular offices, special constables in Scotland expressed a sense that there was more of a togetherness or unity between their role and the role of the regular officer. This is an important finding and suggests that the more infrastructure and independence afforded to special constables, which allows them to work as a more autonomous body of officers, delineates them from the regular officers that they work with. By reducing the opportunities for special constables to feel as though they could operate without regular officers' oversight, as was the case in Scotland, the Special Constabulary is maintained as an extension of the regular police service rather than an as independent volunteering body within which police powers are vested.

Whereas both Scottish and English specials within the study saw their role as important, this importance was framed and contextualised by the features of the policing environment around them. The differences in training, the imposition of evidential burdens and the organisational implications of hierarchy all contribute to the perception that specials have of their own roles within the policing organisation. These differences have been expressed by specials in the interviews and observations conducted. There is not room within this concluding section to make normative judgements about which perceptions might be better than the others, but this hopefully illuminates the importance of organisational and managerial decisions and the impact that these features can have on the special constables' experiences of the policing environment. The question then becomes, 'what sort of experience do police organisations want special constables to have?' which prompts constructive thinking about how to make the answer to that question reality through the way police organisations managed, organise, and train their volunteers.

Volunteering motivation can define and construct the volunteer's understanding of what aspects of the policing organisation and role that they value. However, the features of their volunteering environment represent the ways in which those expectations and values become manifest within the context of policing. Simply put, despite the volunteer's expectations, it is the framework of policing that defines the opportunities for the volunteers to be able to realise their expectations. Motivation defines values, and it is the framework of policing that defines the conditions in which those values can be expressed.

This draws a number of parallels with Bourdieu's (1984) concepts of habitus and field; and with the work of Chan (1996) who considers the way in which police officers interact and understand value within the policing environment. It begs further questions. If the organisational features of policing impact on the volunteer's ability to express their values, is there something of an occupational culture that operates to underpin these relationships? Additionally, do these organisational features of police work amount to symbolic features akin to those observed in policing culture? If this is the case, do special constables fit into the acknowledged features of policing culture as identified in the wider literature, or is there scope to suggest that the Special Constabulary represents its own distinct occupational culture within the policing organisation? The next chapter considers the current perceptions of police culture within the United Kingdom, the pervading and enduring features of police culture that have been identified across the cultural environment of police work, and how special constables may come into contact with these values and the impact they might have on their volunteering experiences.

Chapter 9: The Special Constabulary as a Culture

This chapter seeks to position the special constable within the wider context of policing and consider whether the time which they have spent volunteering within the policing environment has amounted to an integration into the culture of police work. Using evidence from observations and interviews, this chapter highlights the ways in which special constables both align themselves with, and deviate from, the shared and accepted values and behaviours that are established features of the culture of policing. These interactions between special constables and features of policing culture are argued to amount to a separate and unique culture within the policing organisation. This culture is borne out of the need for special constables to make sense of the policing environment in the context of their nature as voluntary police officers.

In Chapter 3, police culture literature was discussed, and the ways that individuals within the policing culture interact with, and subsequently shape and understand, policing culture were explained. Rather than dwell on the mechanisms of the formation of cultures, this chapter highlights the observable features, or artefacts (Schein, 2017) of police occupational culture, and uses these features as benchmarks against which the interactions between the special constables and those shared cultural values and behaviours can be examined. Once these artefacts of a modern policing occupational culture have been introduced, this chapter considers the ways in which the special constables in this study interact with these different features of police culture, as both members of the policing organisation, and as volunteers. This last point, viewing police culture from the perspective of a volunteer within the policing organisation, represents a unique exploration of the nature of policing culture, and the impacts that the policing culture can have on different members of those policing organisations.

9.1 The Enduring Attributes of Police Culture

Loftus's (2009) work on police culture, and its enduring status within contemporary police services in the UK, provides a robust and well-researched account of the pervasive and enduring nature of occupational cultures. Schein (2017) highlights that this enduring culture is typical of organisational cultures with strong cultural roots, developed over the history of an organisation. Loftus identifies several important cultural reflections which she confirms, through interviews and focus groups with members of one police force in England, still

remain part of the contemporary narrative of police culture; a sense of moral mission, 'proper' police work, storytelling, and a stigmatised identity.

9.1.1 A sense of moral mission: A crusade against crime and disorder

Loftus (2009) reflects on Reiner's assertion that 'the preservation of a valued way of life, and the protection of the weak against the predatory' (Reiner, 2010: 119) is indicative of a shared belief across police officers; representing a core sense of mission shared across police officers. The basic Peelian principles, at the foundation of the modern police services in the UK, centre on the fundamental fact that the police 'exist to prevent crime and disorder' (Loader, 2016). As such, one would consider this sense of mission, that the police officer's role as a crime fighter, as part of UK police organisations' historical identity. This feature is indicative of Schein's (2017) understanding of cultural DNA; the core mission of policing pits police officers against criminals, and that feature has historically been part of the cultural make-up of police services in the United Kingdom. This is encapsulated by Reiner's (1978) depiction of the *new centurion* police officer type - 'a man with a mission… dedicated to a crusade against crime and disorder' (ibid, p. 230) - bringing with it a sense of normative superiority. Being inherently opposed to those in society that are labelled 'bad' gives police officers a sense that their work, at its core, is morally 'good' (Smith and Gray, 1985; Young, 1991). In short, police culture in the UK has developed with a central message; that police officers are there to combat the 'bad' in society, giving police officers a sense of moral justification for the work that they do.

9.1.2 Police Tasks: 'Proper' versus 'Bullshit'

Over the past two decades, there has been an observable rise in the importance and prioritisation of community-based policing initiatives, which has redefined members of the public as customers or clients of police organisations, and turned police *forces* into police *services* (Fielding, 1995). Loftus investigates the ways that police officers have reacted to this fundamental re-conceptualisation of the public they are sworn to protect. Tilley (2008) acknowledges that the push towards community policing is focused on the notion that the police should be working with the public and local communities to find solutions to crime problems, rather than passively policing them and responding to emergency calls. These notions run counter to the long-standing and accepted ideas that policing is a reactionary *force,* compounded with the sense of moral mission against criminals as an enemy (Westley, 1970). Following Reiner (2017) and his assertions that policing culture is one resistant to change, Loftus (2009) draws attention to the fact that excitement has become a measure of

worth for police officers when gauging what sort of tasks and jobs they find worthwhile in their role. Officers will seek out and find reasons to become involved in the more thrill-inducing elements of their work (Punch, 1979; Smith and Gray, 1985). On the one hand, there is 'proper' police work characterised by excitement (Manning, 1977). On the other, there are jobs called in by the *rubbish* - a social categorisation defined as those who call up with problems unworthy of police resource (Holdaway, 1983). This 'bullshit' work (van Maanen, 1975: 17), is characterised by a failure to live up to the sort of moralistically idealised and high-tempo work that is valued in the collective cultural mindset of police officers. Loftus (2009) gives a good example from her research of how those officers that are often burdened with boring jobs were referred to, in her case study, as 'shit magnets' (ibid: 8), typifying the interconnectedness of 'proper' police work and a desire for excitement.

9.1.3 Storytelling: Teaching and Reinforcing Values

The language and discourses of police officers, and their subject matter, still represents a more masculine vocabulary (Fletcher, 1996). Smith et al (2014) highlight that the stories, shared across generations of officers within police organisations, often highlight the work men; with female voices and characters often being left out of the narratives. These stories promote values linked to the action and excitement considered above, recalling tasks like blue-light driving, arrests, and the searching of houses (Rantatalo and Karp, 2017), reinforcing an image of action- orientated police work. Reiner (2010) suggests this narrative popularises these sorts of masculine jobs amongst police officers. Rantatalo and Karp's (2017) research, into the use of storytelling within policing organisations as a means of sense-making, highlighted the extreme nature of some of these narratives involving 'blood, gore, misery… self-harming… or being exposed to violence by others' (ibid: 170). The authors found that the use of storytelling within policing organisation reinforced many of the values discussed above; police officers were the good guys, and police work involved a share of excitement and action, alongside danger and sadness. The discourse reflects a moralistic idealism which accompanies this sense of mission, and links back to the idealism shown by career-motivated special constables in Chapter 7.

This focus on violence and miserable content within their discourse, as Westley (1970) remarks, highlights a darker side of policing; officers are often so busy dealing with and reflecting on difficult and alarming scenarios that there is little scope to celebrate humanity and the good that they encounter in their work. As such, dark humour is often the go-to means of providing levity to the discourse and provides a means by which police

officers find joy in the often bleak, sometimes horrific, realities of their work (Alain and Gregoire, 2008). These features of policing discourse go a long way to introduce new recruits to the environment of policing, and as such, police discourse and language is as much tool which officers use to make sense of their role as police officers as it is simply a means of communicating stories about the more morbid features of their work (Waddington, 1999; Rantatalo and Karp, 2017). The problems of using these stories as sources of learning and tools for new officers have been well documented; they can reinforce discriminatory or older modes of policing style (Van Hulst, 2013), and can set unrealistic expectations of work for the new recruits that ingest their messages (Alain and Gregoire, 2008).

9.1.4 A stigmatised identity

Classical accounts of policing culture, particularly Skolnick's (2011) development of the police officer's 'working personality', identified that police officers experience an isolation from wider, non-policing society, which leads to police officers feeling stigmatised by their identity as members of the policing organisation. This stigma, following van Maanen (1975), places them further at odds with the public that they were tasked to protect, exacerbating feelings of hostility in the public towards the police, and vice versa. Positioning themselves within the 'us versus them' realities of police work, in the same way that those they deal with amongst the population are stigmatised by police officers, results in a stigmatisation of their own work, and a belief that the public has a number of preconceived biases about police officers, which permeates its way into the culture of police work. These perceptions, coupled with police officers' understanding of the policed public as 'others', has resulted in police officers understanding their role as being separate and isolated from the public at large. As these features of the policing organisational culture perpetuate this othering process, specific organisational features which foster inclusion - like rank structure (see Chapter 8), and other symbolic features of policing, such as the uniform, and ceremonies that reinforce authority and responsibility (discussed in Chapter 7) – encourage police officers to understand themselves as an isolated group of comrades who share a common purpose and pride. Through this, police officers see themselves as diametrically opposed to anyone who doesn't conform to these organisational features of their occupational world.

9.2 The Special Constable as a member of Police Culture

Both study sites in Scotland and England provide interesting examples of how special constables interacted with these features of policing culture and the values which it espoused. This section examines this evidence, and provides examples of where these shared values and

behaviours are evident - or are departed from - within the special constable's volunteering experience, and how their lived experience of interacting with these features and values can be explained through volunteer status within the policing organisation.

9.2.1 A sense of mission

There was a general acceptance across special constables interviewed in this study- particularly amongst special constables motivated by a career in policing – that the sense of mission that was inherent within police culture, and the underpinning moral idealism, extended to the Special Constabulary:

> You do what you do because it's something that you believe in… you are coming back to the core values of policing here, we uphold that. – *from Interview 202, 'Edward', English Study Site*

> You are there to prevent and detect crime, to help victims… prepared to stand up to criminal behaviour – *from Interview 203, 'Simon', English Study Site*

The language used by these specials indicates their subscription to the 'good' versus 'bad' narrative that police culture reinforces (Smith and Gray, 1985). Given the findings presented in Chapter 7, it could be expected that those motivated by a future career in policing were quick to subscribe to the moralistic, symbolic attitudes about the character of police work, given their subscription to other symbolic features like the uniform and the taking of oaths. Even those who are not motivated by the potential of a future career in the police expressed a normative attitude; that the work they did was 'good' in way or another:

> (Speaking about childhood and a relative's work with the less fortunate) I grew up around that, and they worked with the local police station, helping out about half a dozen of these lads. [My grandmother] worked hard to make things better for [less fortunate children], to set them up. So, for me, from an early age, I had this contact with the police, in a very good way. It was a natural progression for me to work with them… It's about changing lives and from my experience… that's brilliant. – *from Interview 208, 'Elizabeth', English Study Site*

> It sounds corny, but you do generally want to make things better in the society that you live in… at the end of the day, you are stopping people stealing, assaulting each other, which is a good thing. A positive thing. – *from Interview 107, 'Gavin', Scottish Study Site*

All special constables interviewed in this study viewed their police work as a 'good' thing, and that in turn reinforced the idea, for some, that those they interacted with outside of the policing circle were 'bad', reinforcing isolation and the 'othering' effect of policing (Skolnick, 2011 van Maanen, 1975):

> There are so many people out there that don't know what it's like to be a cop. There is an intrinsic value to it… you're making a difference, and that's good. There's something about it

that so many people, even in my own life, don't understand. – *from Interview 104, 'Martin', Scottish Study site*

Particularly in scenarios where names and faces of individuals in the community were known within the local police stations, which emphasised the 'infamy' of those in the community that were policed, there were occasions which provided evidence of special constables taking part in this practice of 'othering' members of the policed public:

I've come across people numerous times, and they recognise you and you recognise them. It's about dealing with them at the time. I've been in a few situations where they have seen me coming and have seen the uniform, and they've said, quite literally, 'what the fuck do you want'?!... If you go in the with attitude of judging someone, it upholds the rift between the community and the public – *from Interview 204, 'Harry', English Study Site*

…do you want to advertise that? There are some people you just don't want to know that you work for the police. 'I work for the police, come slash my tires!'. – *from Interview 101, 'Rhona', Scottish Study Site*

The concept of 'police property' was introduced by Lee (1981), which defines certain members of society as part of a social class who are controlled through police interaction. This concept is deeply linked to police culture and the ways in which police officers make sense of their distance and isolation from society at large (Reiner, 1984). Regardless of their initial and continued motivation to volunteer as member of the policing organisation, this process of stigmatisation, or reduction of those policed to 'police property', was evident, albeit to different degrees to different special constables:

I like engaging with people… speaking to people, making sure they are okay… building relationships and building on those links to build better communities, that what I enjoy doing. I love dealing with people, but I know there are people out here in the county that want to commit crime. I signed up to deal with those sorts of people, that commit crime... People that commit burglary have no right to do that, and we are there to enforce the law. The offences that people commit, to others in the community who haven't asked for it, we need to deal with that. – *from Interview 203, 'Simon', English Study Site*

Even when the policed members of the public are viewed through a sympathetic lens, and understood as individuals in need of assistance or help rather than punishment, the pervasive language of police culture still ties them to the understanding that they are part of this social class of police property. Altruism and humanitarian values of these special constables are not abandoned, but rather reconfigured to better fit into the shared understanding that the police are there to deal with, in the words of special constable Simon above, 'those sorts of people', in an effort to 'build better communities', and help those who 'haven't asked' to be victims of crime.

This point, that the ethos of the special constable was superficially similar to sense of mission shared by police officers, but substantively different given the nature of the special constables values as a volunteering member of the policing organisation, is an important one for this study. The sense of mission and the moralistic ideals promoted by that sense of mission, and the isolating effect that this reinforces is still present across special constables. However, this takes place within the context of their voluntary position, which is often characterised by humanitarian value, and the desire to support and contribute to a better policing environment. Some special constables, motivated by value orientated motivations such as 'community' and 'giving back' highlighted this position:

> Ultimately, when I go out and perform the role, whatever it is I'm dealing with, and it's not always pleasant… I'm showing it the respect it deserves, with a community focus…. No matter what I'm dealing with, no matter who I'm talking to… It's a big reminder to me about what I value, and I go home and feeling like I have done something good. – *from Interview 202, 'Edward', English Study Site*

> You want people to be safe, and you don't want crime to happen. You've got to watch yourself and your actions… because you want it to go right all the time. There's nothing better that seeing two guys going into have a fight, and you going over and saying 'Look, this can't happen', speaking to this and talking to them like just another person. Those guys might wake up the next day and think 'that cop was alright'. – *from Interview 104 'Martin', Scottish Study Site*

For these special constables, the normative character of that sense of mission is like that shared by their regular officer counterparts. The substance of that mission, however, is not necessarily against crime and disorder. For these special constables, their cause is motivated by helping; either directly assisting those in communities that require their assistance, or through supporting policing organisation through the contribution of their time. Their contribution is still moral 'good', but the way in which those moral 'goods' are expressed is though their contribution to enhancing policing, rather than directly tackling the 'bad' in society which is defining by persisting feature of the policing culture.

Interestingly, this 'special' sense of mission might give rise to the difficulty that these volunteers who were not motivated by a future career in policing had in defining the role that they played within the police organisation (Chapter 7). Where the career-motivated special constables who were interviewed were quick to confirm their role as a 'police officer', they were also quick to confirm that they subscribed to the notion that the job of the police organisation was to combat crime, and the subsequent 'bad' guys that made up the policed portion of the public. If special constables who are not motivated by the desire to become a regular officer are not as quick to subscribe to these ways of thinking – as the interview

exerts present above suggest – then perhaps there may exist differing or individualistic senses of mission based on volunteer motivation and the perception of role within the Special Constabulary.

Following Chapter 7, volunteer motivation is fundamentally linked special constable expectation and subsequent understanding of their role. If a police officer's job, as defined by the accepted principles of police work, is to combat and prevent crime (Loader, 2016; Reiner, 1978), and the special constable role is an amalgamation of supporting the public and police organisation whilst upholding their own individual motivations, then, by definition, the core mission for these special constables fails to align with those of the police officers they serve alongside. Those special constables that do subscribe to those understandings in this study were more likely to be motivated by a future career in policing. As was suggested in Chapter 7, these volunteers have an affinity for the symbolic features of police power and authority, and perhaps they are similarly quick to align themselves to the cultural understandings shared across regular police officers as well. For the career-motivated special constable, these views may be potentially reinforced by the fetishism of policing in media depictions of the police as crime-fighters (Reiner, 2010) and the social position that the modern British police officer occupies as both a law enforcer and an agent of social control (ibid):

> If I was in the position there would be stuff, I would really like to do, in drugs teams with the sniffer dogs, investigating crime... It comes down to watching films and shows, like Lethal Weapon… and its cop talk, like gang fights… wanting the old guard back to help get peace in the area… I don't think I've had the Murtaugh and Riggs [characters in 'Lethal Weapon'] attitude about it (laughter), but deep down, that's why I do it, and we might laugh about it, it's about stopping crime and being a police officer. – *from Interview 104, 'Martin', Scottish Study site*

Comparing their policing experience to *Lethal Weapon*, and demonstrating an understanding that through policing one could become akin to these Hollywood depictions of police officers like Rodger Murtaugh and Martin Riggs, at least in part, may contribute to the different understandings between the career-motivated special constable and those special not motivated to become regular officers about of the role and the purpose of the Special Constabulary. Whereas these career-motivated specials endorse the core crime-fighting identity of the police officer that defines the cultural DNA (Schein, 2017) of the police organisation, specials driven by other motivations do not seem to share that endorsement. Subsequently, the certainty of these value motivated special constables that they are playing the same role as their regular counterparts is challenged.

These findings touch on another important aspect of recent police scholarship; the understanding of police self-legitimacy, and the sources of police officers' own perceptions the legitimate authority inherent to their policing role (Bottoms and Tankebe, 2012; Bradford and Quinton, 2014). Bradford and Quinton (ibid) suggest that police officers who identify strongly with the policing organisation are more likely to understand their authority as more legitimate. These claims were made in the context of organisational justice – being treated well by the organisation reinforced the officer's identity within the policing organisation and validated the idea that their power was legitimate. It can be argued that the complex nature of the special constable identity – influenced by motivation and experience of the policing organisation (Chapter 7), through the volunteer's subscription to the moralistic mission as defined by policing culture - could manifest into feelings of illegitimacy when asked to demonstrate their authority in the role of the police officer. Furthermore, Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) highlight that these feelings of organisational justice are further undermined when the officer disagrees with the nature in which the public are policed. The complex relationship which special constables have in relation to the police organisation's cultural defined sense of mission may result in those humanitarian/altruistic motivated special constables seeking a more community-orientated, less confrontational approach to policing. As such, special constables further separate themselves from the established organisational identity. It provides another explanation as to why those special constables who were career-motivated were quicker to subscribe to a police officer identity rather than with the volunteer identity (discussed in Chapter 7). If career-motivated special constables are more likely to align with the values purported by police culture, the more they perceive their role and authority as legitimate (Braford and Quinton, 2014), and the more confidently they align themselves to the identity of a police officer over that of a volunteer. This finding once again reinforces the notion that special constables understand their volunteering, and their place within the policing organisation, in different and dynamic ways associated with their status as a volunteer rather than as a regular police officer.

9.2.2 Standing on a Point: 'Something a bit more exciting'

The disdain for 'bullshit' police work was evident amongst some of the special constables in this study. The ways in which special constables reflected on the times where they were called upon to participate in action-orientated work lead to animated discussions:

There can be a lot of boredom, and when it is a quiet night with not a lot going on, that can be boring – *from Interview 105, 'Andrew', Scottish Study Site*

The flip side is, you know, it's not all signing all dancing. Standing outside for 5 hours next to a dead body, having to stop a cat from chewing its leg. You've got to take the good with the bad I suppose – *from Interview 101, 'Rhona', Scottish Study Site*

You need to be interested because some jobs are… well… boring. You can't pick and choose, and you need to deal with those the best you can. I think that it leads to some folk thinking we are silly, because we end up doing that sort of stuff for free. – *from Interview 206, 'Henry', English Study Site*

There is a clear distinction between those special constables that are motivated by a future career in policing and those motivated for other reasons. Firstly, it is important to reflect that there was a general consensus across special constables that the less action orientated, more community focused, work was not always considered 'bullshit', particularly when they could see that work improving the experiences of members of the public:

…community spirit. Now, we don't have that, but its sign of the times. We are reactive rather than proactive, it's difficult… I would like every Special to have their own area, so when you're not patrolling with a regular, you go to you default area, where everyone knows you. – *from Interview 201, 'George', English Study Site*

When I was 17, I got lost on the way home, and I was upset. A police officer came over to me, and they didn't ask me if I was okay, they just told me 'you need to get home'! It was dark, and I was alone, and I was made to feel terrible. It made me want to be a special constable that was approachable, to be involved in the community and help out people that needed help. There is a tendency, I think, having seen it in this day and age, for the police to be stand-offish in situations like that, but they should want to be approachable… you need to have [an authoritative] side to you, but you can't be like that all the time. – *from Interview 106, 'Agnes', Scottish Study Site*

There are assertions within policing literature that community-orientated or public-facing initiatives within policing detract from the core action-orientated, high-tempo nature of police work (as is perpetuated by police culture) (Fielding, 1995; Loftus, 2009; Marks, 2005). When considering what the special constables considered worthy of being labelled 'bullshit', it is evident that they share the police cultures understanding that the boring jobs are worth of being labelled as lesser task. The observed special constables, particularly the younger of cohort, were often discouraged when they faced the reality that they would be undertaking mundane activities. The following is an extract from observation notes which followed the news that one of the specials constables on the shift was to be put on a 'point' – essentially standing guard at the scene of a potential crime, in order to secure the locus for further examination:

James is told that he would need to stand on a point as a scene guard where a man had been found dead in his home. 'It is what it is' I was assured, but the idea of being stood on a point all night was not an idea that James seemed happy with. Elizabeth, the regular officer that was travelling with us, assured him that when he came off, even if the other guys were away doing

something else, she would ensure that he could go with her so that he had 'something a bit more exciting to do'. Henry [another special constable who was on shift] mentioned that I should now observe him for a portion of the evening, as standing watching a special constable stand on a point would not be exciting for me either. It was pretty cold outside to boot. – *from observation notes from English Study Site, 'Henry, James, and David'*

The clear disappointment was offset by the willingness and desire to carry out their duty as a police officer, the sense of mission they had to support the policing organisation through their contribution as a volunteer. The special constables believed that there would be far more interesting things happening that night which would be more worthy of observation. From this, it could be considered that special constables place certain tasks within the category of worthwhile or 'proper' police work in the same ways that police officers did (Manning, 1977). This was emphasised even further when the same special announced that he was no longer required to stand on that point.

Around two hours after we had dropped him off, we heard James come across the radio to announce that he was no longer required to stand on the point at the scene of the sudden death. Henry announced that 'he will be pleased', and admittedly, James sounded pretty happy to have made the announcement…When we arrived back at the station James and David had also returned, with a pizza which they were sharing in the canteen. James made comments about how he needed the hot food to warm him up after standing out in the cold on the point he had been tasked with earlier. He was keen to get out to something other than the scene guard job, and Henry instructed that he and David should take me out with them once they were finished eating. I remarked that this sounded like a good idea, and the notion that standing on a point was 'not worth observing' was reinforced. I concluded that this group of specials did not think much of standing on a point. – *from observation notes from English Study Site, 'Henry, James, and David'*

James's relief that he was no longer was required to stand on the point, stemmed from the fact that he was far more eager to get out and get onto some other activity rather than be 'stuck' on a point all night. After a quick turnaround, the same special was back out in the police van and back out onto patrol. Standing on a point, for the specials, was often cited as the most non-exhilarating activity that they could be tasked with:

Could be doing speed checks. Responding to calls and shooting off down the motorway. We go all over the division, and we rarely get stuck in the one place whilst we are out on duty. Unless you get called to stand on a point. That's pretty bad, and you might get stuck there a while. Yeah, then it's not all glitz and glamour. But that stuff needs done - *from Interview 102, 'William', Scottish study site*

Edward: One minute you are rushed off your feet, closing roads for traffic accidents and directing traffic or patrolling around looking for someone that has a warrant out for them. You never know what happening from one minute to the next and bang, something else is happening. It can be like that, fast paced and exciting. Or you could be stuck on a point for ages, maybe for the full shift. Those are two quite different types of shift.

Me: Is that challenging?

Edward: You adapt to it. Sometimes when you first start out it can be challenging. Is it like this all the time? Once you've done it a few times and you know the other side of things, it can be rewarding rather than challenging. – *from Interview 202, 'Edward', English Study Site*.

Not only did specials talk about it so unenthusiastically, but the task of standing at a crime scene was the example called upon whenever a special constable needed to explain that there was a downside or a negative element of the job. However, it was a task that needed to be carried out in order to validate their role as a special constable; a volunteer who supported their policing organisation. Despite their lack of interest in standing on points, specials were confident that they would always do it if asked. This raised questions about what it was, in truth, that the special constables were there to do 'what needed doing' as this exert from the observations explains:

As the night went on, I got this impression that Charles was not keen to continue tending to the 'bullshit' as he put it, but he continued to repeat the fact that he was 'there to do what needed doing'. He seemed sincere enough about that, and he mentioned with some degree of zeal that that this was the sort of thing that 'specials should be doing'. – *from the observation notes in the English Study Site, 'Charles and Victoria'.*

The idea that the specials would be happy to pick up the 'bullshit' jobs – those jobs that did not conform to the exciting/crime fighting nature of 'proper' police work (van Maanen, 1975; Manning, 1989) – was borne of the sense of mission that the special constables all seemed to share. Standing on a point seemed to represent the least exciting of tasks, but for specials, performing those tasks was underpinned by a commitment to contribute to the policing organisation. What's more, from that same sense of mission stems a further admission that, even though they dislike doing it (as the evidence suggests), that they assert that are 'happy to do it' as part of their obligation to help and support the policing organisation. This shared value ran across all observed specials in this study, and amounts to a similar, but slightly different, understanding of what 'proper' police work means for the Special Constabulary. Whereas 'proper' for regular officers amounts to exciting, action-orientated police work (Manning, 1989), 'proper' for the specials amounts any work, regardless of its levels of excitement levels or action-orientation, that is directly beneficial to allow the policing organisation to function more effectively. This definition of 'proper' is borne out of a sense of duty, and perhaps out of an admission that special constables, to some degree, expect to be asked to take care of the 'bullshit' if need be. However, many found a great deal of meaning in those jobs which may have fallen into the 'bullshit' category. This echoes back to the findings in Chapter 8, in relation to autonomy and independence, and how

some special constables, particularly those in Scotland, searched for value in the more mundane work. These special constables justified this attitude through their acknowledgement that they were contributing towards a greater good, freeing up other regular officers by taking care of the less crucial but necessary tasks. This example from an observation with a Scottish special constable delivering citations summarises it well:

Harris reminded me that if he was [delivering citations], it was 'freeing up' a regular officer to do something else. The implication here was that there were other 'more important' things to be getting on with, and that in delivering citations, he was ensuring that those things could be done. – *from observation field report 'Harris', Scottish Study Site*

This suggests that although there is a shared acceptance between the police and the special constables about which tasks amount to 'bullshit' or 'rubbish', the sense of duty and obligation within the shared understanding of the Special Constabulary alters the way that these volunteers understand and accept what 'proper' police work looks like. For specials, 'proper' police work is any such work that they can do that amounts to supporting the policing organisation, defined by its function rather than its content.

9.2.3 Storytelling: 'Sudden-death offs' and knowing your audience

As commented on above, police officers use story telling in a variety of ways, well captured in previous research. For Waddington (1999), storytelling is a core element of the 'canteen culture' of policing organisations. Police officers use stories about their work and the tasks they are faced with in daily life as a means of coping with high risk nature of their work. Sharing those concerns with a likeminded group of individuals allows them to blow off steam and use their discourse to alleviate themselves from some of the mundane features of police work (ibid). For authors like Fletcher (1996) and Smith et al (2014), the stories help to reinforce the values associated with police through a discourse of masculine ethos, dark humour and, sometimes, violence. For Alain and Gregoire (2008), and Rantatalo and Karp (2017) stories are a means through which shared learning and knowledge can be transferred through police officers to one another as a means of 'sense-making'.

This study found that the special constable, whilst still conforming discourse , used the discourse and language of policing in a way that amalgamates the above authors' findings; to demonstrate that, despite their part-time, volunteering status, they still belonged as part of the policing family. It is at once a reinforcement of the values which police officers consider important, and means of making sense of their place within the policing environment as a volunteer:

You need to have a good personality, and that common sense to know how to talk to each other. Humour helps. I think you would crack up if you took things in this job too seriously or too personally. You need a light side, and a bit of humour to get you through it. That's my take on it anyway – *from Interview 209, 'Justin', English Study Site*

You could go out one day and get your head kicked in, which could have happened to me today. That's the unknown risk, that's the X-factor of the job' You might end up in a housing scheme, dealing with noise complaints, which isn't always policing. I was there once and there was a fire, and we got there before the fire fighters, first on the scene, doing we could before they got there. Saw it in the paper the next day, there was 16 fire fighters there, but we knew we were there doing what we could to help. Under armour covering our faces like a filter system, getting people to safety. You get four floors up and you think 'am I really doing this' – *from Interview 104, 'Martin', Scottish Study Site*

As shown above, the sort of language that the special constables select when recounting the stories of their served time in the Special Constabulary coincides with the sort of language that Fletcher (1999) and Smith et al (2014) highlighted as being a core feature of the policing discourse. Masculinity and excitement feature heavily, reinforcing these values as part of the culture within which the special constables found themselves. Through these observations, there were situations where special constables would affirm these values and provide examples whilst talking to regular constables, joining in with their conversations to either reinforce their position as a member of policing staff:

Gavin was engaged in a conversation with some regulars whilst we ate food. He was rhyming off the names of 'bad' folk and identified another as an 'asshole'. All of the regulars nodded in agreement. He mentioned if the 'misper' [missing person] that was asked for on the radio had been found, and the regulars told him that he had not - but that they all, Stuart included, thought they knew who he might be and would recognise him if they saw him. – *from observation notes in the Scottish Study Site, 'Gavin'.*

Victoria showed me into the CCTV room, and she asks one of the staff working the camera to pull up an image of one of the jobs that we were looking into. After some disagreement about what camera would be best to get the image, they settle on one, and they examine it… We left the CCTV suite, and Victoria informed me that 'the guy that is in there is normally chattier'. She hadn't met the gentlemen in there tonight, and she mentioned that they must have been new. We returned to the canteen and spoke to a number of regulars who were still there getting warm after being out at the firework display all night. They were talking about 'the cat woman' who we saw earlier outside of the fast-food restaurant. They all knew her and joked about her. – *from observations notes in the English study site, 'Charles and Victoria'*

I then made the mistake of mentioning that it had been relatively 'quiet' after the firework display. I was reprimanded by all in the canteen – special and regular alike – for uttering the 'q-word'. Charles told me that it was bad luck to say that word, and the other regulars nodded in agreement. I laughed off my mistake….

…There had not been much sound from the radio for a while, and Charles remarked 'it is quiet tonight'. Jokingly, I told him off for using the q-word. Both Victoria and Charles confirmed that they didn't share the superstition, but the other regulars did…

…After the incident, Charles made a comment to one of the regulars outside of the van, who was in the canteen earlier, that this was my fault for saying the 'q-word'. I laughed in agreement. – *from observations notes in the English study site, 'Charles and Victoria'*

Sharing in the language and discourse of this type, as Waddington (1999) has suggested, operates as a way in which the more complex and specific policing problems can be made sense of. Also, it provides a way for police officers to demonstrate that they are equipped with the required level of knowledge to participate in policing. The last example of the 'q word' specifically highlights the way that language is modified depending upon the audience who are listening. Charles and Victoria share in a laugh with other regulars when and I, an outsider, do not share in the accepted vernacular. They did not necessarily share in it themselves and depart from it, almost mockingly, when the regular officers are not around.

Using language that exemplified excitement, or more dark and gruesome subject matter, became a source of justification for the special constables' claims that they were part of the wider policing family. In particular, the example of responding to 'sudden deaths' was often cited by special constables, and the regulars they talked to, as a notable and unique event that police officers would be expected to deal with. Here is an example which illustrates this phenomenon and was defined in this study as a 'sudden-death off':

Whilst discussing the list of competencies that special constables needed to undertake before getting their independent status, David asked James is he had been to any sudden deaths yet. David mentioned the sudden death that he needed to attend for the purposes of collecting evidence for his training, describing with horrific detail the scene that he had to attend, including the state in which they found the body. James told him that he had been to a sudden death, and that too was described with horrific detail. The two of them talked backwards and forwards, swapping gruesome details, which seemed to me almost competitive in the way they were each trying to out-disgust the other with the details of their experiences. If it was a competition, David certainly 'won' with his description involving some pretty horrendous detail about the corpse which was at the scene, including quite vivid recollections about the smell. After several minutes of this whilst driving around in the van, I stopped noting down the different descriptions they were giving me and summarised the whole discussion with the words 'sudden death off'. – *Observation from the English Study Site, 'Henry, James and David'.*

As an aside, I was rather taken aback with the details that they were choosing to share with one another – as the above notes suggests, the discussion became exceptionally macabre, and in my field notepad, after I decided to refrain from recording all of these details, I have the words 'JESUS CHRIST' written in capital letters and underlined (Appendix E). It evoked the sort of language that authors in the past have highlighted as being part of a dark sense of humour, often shared by so-called 'corpse-workers' in pursuit of a shared vocabulary or discourse that can help this sort of occupational morbidity (Alain and

Gregoire, 2008; Rowe and Regehr, 2010). My own personal sensitivities to the content aside, my presence in these conversations was an important feature. As mentioned above with Charles and Victoria, and further below, my presence as an outsider, and being part of the audience for these discussions added more context to the findings.

This conversation reinforced two important concepts. Firstly, there was a shared and understood way of treating subject matter of that type between the two specials, which I, as an 'outsider', found difficult to share in. Secondly, in the context of discussing their individual competencies, the more experienced and already independent special, David, seemed to be trying to gauge how much the younger special, James, had seen and done in his role as a special constable. There were both elements of testing to see what sort of experience he had, but also as a means of 'preparing' him for the sort of things he could see whilst out on duty. This makes sense when considering the behaviours that have been noted in policing organisations where officers help contextualise and make sense of the sort of work they are part of, creating a discourse that all members of the culture can be part of, to share their experiences and facilitate sense making (Waddington, 1999, Rantatalo and Karp, 2017). Additionally, the competitive element of the observed discussion, with each of the specials introducing new features of their experiences to generate a more gruesome account of the situation, added a layer of performance; by adding more details, the audience they were performing too – the other special constables and myself – were being given more and more evidence that the special constable telling the story is involved in the sort of things that police officers encounter. It validated - to the other special (an insider) and to me (an outsider) - that they were a legitimate member of the police organisation that dealt with the sort of things that police officers would be expected to deal with. This same cadence seemed to arise whenever sudden deaths were brought up; a gruesome and graphic event, which contextualised their role:

Me: That sort of stuff [dealing with dead bodies] sounds pretty gruesome? Do you ever think 'I'm only a volunteer, why should I deal with it'?

Joan: I've never though like that. Anyone could say *no*. There could be something terrible, like a child death, or any death for that matter, they are all horrible. Say a special has just suffered loss, you could turn around and say, 'I don't want to see that', and you would think that is understandable. I've never said no to anything, I'm there the same as everyone else, if they need someone to stand in the pouring rain next to a dead body for five hours, they I go and do it. – *from Interview 101, 'Rhona', Scottish Study Site*

The training is really thorough. The sort of evidence we need to gather is pretty comprehensive. For example, you need to attend two sudden deaths, and deal with them, deal with a dead body

in whatever state you find it. That's a big deal and can be a big thing that some people are not ready for, but really, it's one small part of quite a sustainable amount of evidence that you need to collect. There's a huge amount to it, and those things just become part of it. I think that takes some people by surprise – *from Interview 209, 'Justin', English Study Site*

Another important feature that stems from the way that the specials discuss these sorts of tasks whilst volunteering is the relationship between the 'experience' of seeing these particular scenario fist hand, and how that become synonymous with competency. When asked to reflect on their own level of competency, volunteers often called upon their experiences of macho and gruesome tasks they had been involved in. This was particularly the case in the English study site, where, as part of their training to become independent specials, demonstrating experience of these different tasks directly correlated to how their progress towards being able to operate 'independently'.

This idea - that experience amounted to competency - stems from the value that the police place on experience, and the notion that within the policing environment real world experience outweighs formal education (Haynes, 2009). Without any prompt, the special constables use their stories to both reinforce the idea that they are conforming to the values of the policing organisation, and to demonstrate they are a competent and experienced member of the policing family. Be recreating the dark humour and masculine language often found in policing discourses (Smith et al, 2014; Charman, 2013) and by engaging with content which is measured against the audiences of this story telling (van Hulst, 2013), these specials provide evidence to those audiences that they share in the same cultural knowledge as their regular counterparts, and can navigate the terrain of police work in the same way that the regulars can. It is not just a confirmation that they can *talk the talk* but that, through their ability to share stories that exemplify the values of policing culture, that they can also *walk the walk.*

9.2.4 Outside(r) perspectives: Public and police perspectives of volunteers' identity

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the population of the UK has its own perceptions and understandings of the Special Constabulary defined by the place that these volunteers occupy in their policing history (Davidson et al, 2016; Mulcahy, 2006). Perceptions of policing and police officers do not exist in a vacuum; historical, geographical, and social influences work together to construct a public perception of the police which differs across the United Kingdom and across different social groups (Tankebe, 2013; Reiner, 2017). This has contributed to the shared acceptance across the policing organisations in the UK that the police have a stigmatised identity, and this stigma results in the police reinforcing their

isolationist walls, and in turn, justifies their reason for generating their own stigmatising views of the public that they police.

For special constables, this stigma is complex and multi-facetted. Firstly, as might be expected, they experience stigma from the public in the same way as other police officer do. Secondly, this study also considers another layer of stigma, through the eyes of regular officer who view special constables, naturally, as volunteers within their policing world. This dual level of stigmatisation results in a unique experience of the policing organisation for special constables. Additionally, it represents a unique perspective of the way that special constables come to understand their place within policing culture. There was an acceptance across both special constables and regular officers, in both study sites, that the public understand the special constable, first and foremost, as a police officer:

> You are seen as that guy that needs to come over and deal with a problem, you need to deal with what's going on, you need to make the decisions. You couldn't go to a call and say 'sorry, I'm a volunteer', or 'I'm only a special constable'. The public don't care, they are not looking for that. They see you as a police officer. – *from Interview 109, 'Daniel', Scottish Study Site*

> You are being relied on by the public. They don't know you're a special, they just need you to do your job. – *from Interview 206, 'Henry', English Study Site*

There is a unanimous attitude that the public who engaged with members of the policing organisation would be unaware that they were talking to a special constable as opposed to a regular officer; special constables are view simply as police officers by those they interact with whilst on duty. Perhaps because the public perceived them as police officer, rather than questioning their status as a voluntary or non-voluntary member of the policing organisation, may help to better understand the findings above that special constables echo the forms of othering in the same ways that regular officers do (Holdaway, 1983):

> One reason I joined was to improve the relationship between the public and the police, but sometimes I find that I'm not doing a lot of the talking. The regular I'm with would often do more. There are times when I've thought, 'should you have said that'? They would be like 'who do you think you're talking to'? I would like to try and challenge that, but it's different when you're out and you see it and you're there. I've would never report anyone; I don't think I could do anything that bad. – *from Interview 204, 'Harry', English Study Site*

> I often get comments from members of the public. I've got quite a baby face, and you'll get that 'are you even old enough to be a cop'. It's just comments though, and I don't have any issues with it. That's just a thing that they public will do, they will try and have a go at you, or give you a hard time just because you are a cop. It's like those guys that draw cartoons of you, where they emphasise one thing about you. That's all that matters if you're a cop. It's never an issue when I'm out. – *from Interview 205, 'John', English Study Site*

I think that when the public have a problem their first thought is to phone the police, which means we are responding to a lot of things. The general perception is that we are there to assist the public… but we can't do everything. I've just done that suicide prevention training. We aren't social workers. Like, a first aider, you're the first on the scene and you might save someone life, but you're only really there to stop something bad happening until the professionals get there. I think the public don't understand that, and they see us as a means to do everything, that they put under the category of 'police stuff' - *from Interview 110, 'Robert', Scottish Study Site*

This example represents an alignment in both regular officers' and special constables' understanding of the public perception of police officers. However, the idea that special constables are seen as 'outsiders' by the public by virtue of their police officer status is not the only stigmatising perceptions which they encounter. Their existence as volunteers within a policing world generates another division, between them and regular officers, and there is evidence, not least from the perspectives of groups like the Police Federation (see Chapter 2), which emphasise the differences between special constables and regulars. This leads to a further 'othering' process, where the special constable is too much like a police officer to be a member of the public, but too much like a volunteer to be seen as a fully-fledged member of the policing organisation, in the eyes of some regular officers:

Andrew: You see them [regulars] sitting eating their dinner, or drinking a cup of tea or whatever, some of them talk and some of them don't. I was sitting the other night and one lassie made a comment about specials, 'Oh I've got a special with me tonight', it was a funny comment right, and I was like 'you've got to watch what you say', and she was like, 'Oh, I didn't see you there'. I've heard it all. It was funny because I knew she was a special before she joined the regulars. After I pulled her up, she was genuinely nice to me after that.

Me: Is that a common attitude you think?

Andrew: There is probably an undercurrent somewhere. I do think sometimes though, what it would be like to be in their shoes, and what they are thinking. It doesn't often bother me, and it shouldn't, not because I'm thick skinned, but because it doesn't matter. We need to work with them, so you just you get one that's nice. In a way, the guys that give you a hard him are a bit like robots, programmed to know that the police need and work with specials. They might find them useful, but at the end of the day they are different, and they are not going to go away. Let's just hope we all get on. – *from Interview 105, 'Andrew', Scottish Study Site*

'One time it was me and another regular officer, and we were the only people on the shift, and it was obvious from the tone and body language that they didn't care for a special to be one with them. I don't think it's their fault though. I think it comes down to communication. I've been with sergeants that just don't know you were even coming out on the shift, and they have had to scramble because they are going out of their way to try and help us. A lot of the time sergeants have been really great trying to get us to mix, but when you are showing up and no one knows you are there, you can be seen as a liability, someone that doesn't really belong'. – *from Interview 106, 'Agnes', Scottish Study Site*

'A number of regulars might have worked together for a number of years, they know each other really well, and you want to come in and express who you are, you want to be part of the team,

and ultimately, you want to make sure that the officers there want to take you out. You want to be liked, and you want to perform effectively as you can to get positive feedback from them. Some of the were having a laugh and a joke, and I said something went a bit too far, and someone took it to hear, and in the end, I ended up having to apologise. All of that, I think, came from the pressure of trying to fit in. With them being a team that work with each other every time they are out, and with me, someone who is a volunteer, coming in, it thinks it's set up for us to be pretty vulnerable when things like that happen. – *from Interview 201, 'George', English Study Site*

These sorts of stories were recounted in both study sites, but more so in the Scottish study site than south of the border. In England, the way in which the specials constables operated (working together on independent shifts, rank structure) did seem to mitigate these factors. As mentioned previously in Chapter 8, the organisational features of the Special Constabulary in the English study site generated a specific framework within which the special constable operated and worked. Perhaps the fact that the Special Constabulary, by virtue of those features, appeared as a self-contained 'division' of the police service in the English study site mitigated these negative feelings somewhat from regular officers; perhaps viewed as a more competent additional resource to support policing, rather than a group of volunteers who 'tagged along' with regular shifts and got in the way. In the Scottish study site, where the status quo meant that special constables relied on regular officers to pair up with them perhaps meant that regular officers saw special constables as more of a burden. The awkward experience of sitting around the police station, or the repetitive ice-breaking conversations whilst on patrol, were not as common in England:

They respect the fact that they have a colleague, and it doesn't matter if that colleague is a special, because we have set it up so that we are all well trained, and in the right mind set. We are all one family, we don't see ourselves as volunteers, we are cops. – *from Interview 208, 'Elizabeth', English Study Site*

Interestingly, the observation which saw two special constables working together in Scotland independent of regular officers ((discussed in Chapter 8 in reference to special constable autonomy and independence) shows that these specials were very much integrated into the policing environment more so that than the other Scottish specials:

I think that struck me the most whilst out on observations with Robert and Daniel was the differences between their shift, and the shifts of the other volunteers I had observed. They worked without another regular in the car with them, independent of other regulars. They arrived at the station in the morning, spoke to the sergeant on duty there, and then they were away. It was refreshing for me to see this different way of working in Scotland when it came to specials. They got on with the job and did it without the oversight of regulars. William mentioned at one point during our patrol – 'and they like that, we just show up and they know we can get on with it'. This related back to the strong feelings they had when we discussed

how their unique position as independent officers had an effect on their work. – *from observation in the Scottish Study Site, 'Robert and Daniel'*

'We are in a slightly different position, but it thinks that's right, they are relying on us a lot more, that's how I see it. Especially in our case, because we work together and we work as a separate unit rather than an extra man, or something like that. Beforehand all we would do would be go out with a regular cop and corroborate whatever it is that they needed doing. Filling in the notebook exercise, not really taking part in what was going on, so to speak. Now that we go out together, things are definitely different. The sergeant has said to us that we are a luxury, we are a double crewed unit that they can send out and not pay us. – *from Interview 110, 'Robert', Scottish Study Site*

'I think most people in this area know who where are, and know we are specials, but they will say 'oh, the two, nae bother'. I think they know we can do the job, and that they don't need to worry about us going to get it done. It doesn't bother me now what they think though, it used to but not anymore. It used to really bother me that thy didn't like specials, but now it doesn't because I do know what my capabilities are, and I know [Robert's] capabilities too, and I know what we can do as a team.' – *from Interview 209, 'Daniel', Scottish Study Site*

This last reflection suggests that independence and the ability to get on with policing tasks without the need for constant regular oversight contributes to a greater integration of the special into the policing environment; either through increasing the confidence that the policing organisation has in their ability, or through showing what the special constables are capable of doing without regular intervention. The less a regular officer needs to do to ensure that the special constable can perform their job, and the more that the special can do to independently offer support without regular intervention, the less of a burden the special becomes to the regular police officers workload. The impact of corroboration on the experiences of Scottish special constables and the obligations it places of police in relation to their working practice (Chapter 8) may mean special constables in Scotland will always be faced with the negative perception that they are taking up a regular's time, or are imposing themselves on the regular shift. Further still, with the myriad different tasks that the regular police officer needs to deal with daily, overseeing special constables and ensuring that they are on task might result in resentment at receiving additional workload:

It's a bit like you [me] employing someone that doesn't know anything about this research, or about interviewing. 'Hi, here's a volunteer, she is going to take the lead in the next interview'. Hold one, what are they going to say? I'm going to get in trouble if I don't get this right. Oh my god. I'll need to go back and fix it again it he messes it up. You might be called up to a disturbance at a pub with someone you've never worked with before – you can run as many scenarios as you like, but at the end of the day, there is nothing that can prepare you for a fight in a pub… but there can't be a tutor/mentor relationship because it would just be unmanageable… We don't like change because it make us feel uncertain, so I suppose being a special must be difficult, because you are coming in to work with people who are stressed out of their box, there aren't enough hours in the day to look after themselves, never mind a person

that might not have the same skill set as a regular constable. – *from Interview 114, 'Sgt Mary', Scottish Study Site*

If specials, in the minds of the regulars, represent more work and more risk, the additional burden of ensuring that they are performing appropriately may lead to them being seen as a group of outsiders who add to policing demand. The stigmatisation which is an inherent feature of police culture is modified and experienced in different ways by special constables by virtue of their volunteering status. This reminiscent of the findings in Reuss-Ianni's (2011) work, and her reflections that police staff understand their position within the police culture based on the role and purpose of their position within the policing organisation. Perhaps the experiences that special constables have of police culture places itself within the different subcultural understandings of policing culture; their nature as volunteer members of the policing organisation defines that understanding. Furthermore, the relative uniformity of values expressed by special constables within the different study sites compounds this idea that these features of police culture are differently experience by special constables across different policing organisations, suggesting that there are alternative, volunteer policing cultures within policing to with special constables subscribe. The remainder of this chapter considers the features of an alternative police culture which special constables engage with as volunteer members of the policing organisation.

9.3 A 'special culture': Putting police culture into a volunteering context

The above examples have highlighted how special constables interact with the enduring features of policing culture, and through this analysis has shown how, in certain ways, they show how they have adopted the culture of policing, and in other ways, have reinterpreted the values associated with policing culture to better understand their place within it. Organisational culture is a manifestation of the behaviours and rules which are defined by the values of the shared members of that organisation (Morgan, 1986; Schein, 2017). For Morgan (1986), this means that the norms and behaviours of the organisation are being interpreted and understood by those within the organisation, which amounts to a social reality for the individuals that adhere to those norms and behaviours. As seen in the evidence above, the special constables share many of the norms and values that have been identified as an enduring part of policing culture, but the way that those norms have been interpreted and have manifested has generated a number of differences between the way that special constables experience their policing experience in relation to regular officers. This links to Martin's (1992) understanding of organisational culture as a collection of numerous

‘subcultures’ – the norms of these subcultures overlap, and as such, values and behaviours across the organisation may appear the same. For policing culture, this interpretation of organisational culture is useful, as it plays into the non-monolithic nature of police culture which authors have claimed in the past (Chan, 1999; Reiner, 2010) which suggests that geographical and hierarchical position can alter the way that culture is understood.

Thinking about the Special Constabulary as its own subculture, which makes up part of the patchwork cultural fabric of a policing organisation, is an appealing one, but in the context of this study’s findings, the values and way that special constables made sense of their relationship with the values and features of policing culture were primarily uniform across the study sites. Reflecting on the organisational variance between England and Scotland, and the differences between special constables based on motivation, there were shared understandings across both cohorts that seemed to transcend individual contexts of police volunteering. There were some obvious distinctions in the way that different specials thought about their relationship with the various features of policing culture discussed above, but much like Loftus found in her examination of the police, these individual variations in the relationships the specials had with these features was often superseded by the overarching values shared as part of the enduring police culture (Loftus, 2009). For the specials, it appears to be the case that they have be exposed to these artefacts of police culture, and have made sense of those rules, values and shared behaviour, and deployed them in their own way, forming a culture specific to volunteering identity developed within the context of the policing environment.

For special constables, their sense of what is important when it comes to policing tasks is well informed by the idealised image of fighting crime, but this is contextualised by the fact they understand their role as that of support; they are there to pick up whatever job needs to be done at any given time, which in turn alters their perception of which police tasks amount to ‘bullshit’ (van Maanen, 1975). Although they perform the same tasks as regular officers, and use the language of policing to make sense of the policing world in the same way as regulars to, their adopting of the discourse of policing helps them integrate into established circles of officers, whilst at the same time, constructing an identity within policing culture that reminds them that they are different and separate from regulars by their very nature as a volunteer. Special constables take the features of the policing culture, and, like Schein (2017) and others have noted, use it as part of their deeper process of learning

their position within the organisational structures in which they volunteer to develop another distinct culture.

Like any other occupational culture, the observable artefacts that bind regular officers together are an important source of internalising the ways in which members of the police force should act and behave, what they should find important, and where they are positioned against others, both within the police organisation and beyond (ibid). The ways that individual officers interact with those artefacts is essential in shaping the position that they occupy within the grand landscape of policing. The inherent differences that come with volunteering in the policing environment, rather than being employed , alter the way that those artefacts come to be understood, and as such, special constables learn their place in the policing organisation with reference to those artefacts through their own contextualised relationship with them. The way that the special constables understood their role relative to their initial motivation for joining the Special Constabulary (discussed in Chapter 7) reinforces this idea that the realities of the volunteer, and the context of volunteering, has an impact on how relate to the various features of the policing environment. The individual, the context in which they find themselves within the policing environment, and the interactions with the other actors within the policing organisation, work together to develop a distinct culture; one occupied by special constables, differentiated by their status as a volunteer police officer. Fielding (1998) explains this process further in his work reflecting on the ways in which new police officer and recruits internalise and make sense of the values and behaviours associated with policing. Their relationship with the policing environment is emerging and changeable, and as new situations arise, they must adapt to make sense of the environment they are learning to work within. The above examples are, an indication that a different volunteering culture exists within policing, in which special constables understand themselves as supporting actors on the stage of police work, where their role is similar to the police officers for public audiences to see, but modified to better cater to their abilities and their accepted position amongst the actors with whom they share the stage.

9.4 Drawing these Findings Together

This chapter, and three previous chapters, have put forward the case that the special constable represents complex case study of volunteering; considering the organisational contexts which define and shape their volunteering experiences, their understanding of their role, and the values that they attribute to their contributions. The stage upon which the special constables' contributions can be realised is defined and impacted upon by the organisational

frameworks of policing. This was the basis for the exploration of the special constable as a distinct organisational culture within the policing environment, and this chapter's exploration of these ideas highlights there are similarities which can again be drawn across the experiences of special constables in both Scotland and England. Alongside these claims, however, is the suggestion that there is a way to categorise these experiences – that motivation and experience are indicators of a process of defining and classifying special constables.

With motivations deeply linked to the way that the volunteers understand their role and values within the policing organisation, a means of categorisation could be generated which classifies special constables using motivation, experience and other demographic feature; which, as this study has shown, could be applicable to volunteers across different policing organisations given the universality found across these volunteering characteristics. When considering the comparative nature of these findings, this study suggests that patterns exist across Special Constabularies, in both Scotland and England, which harnessed to define and categorise special constables, which exist independently of the police organisation within which they work. The reflections on these findings has prompted the exploration of a working typology of special constables, which the following two chapters explore. The next chapter considers the process of constructing this typology of special constables for the purposes of generating a universal means of categorising these volunteers across both Scotland and England.

Chapter 10: Constructing a Typology of Special Constables

The previous four chapters have provided an insight into the characteristics, perceptions, and experiences of special constables within two different UK contexts, and explored the relationship between volunteer motivations, volunteering identities and the features of the policing environment. These findings raised questions as to whether these findings could inform a method of categorising special constables based on the way that they understand their own role; a categorisation that could be informed by their interactions with the policing environment and their own motivations for becoming and remaining special constables. Did different 'types' of special constable exist, and if so, how could they be categorised in a universal way which could be applied to all UK contexts?

This chapter outlines the construction and evaluation of a working typology of special constables within the context of UK policing. Firstly, the literature which provides the basis for the construction of this typology is discussed. Then, this chapter documents the process of creating a typological structure and space, within which the data collected in this study could be framed and explored. Within that space, novel categorises which represent different, characterised types of special constables are presented. This typology represents new opportunities to explore and frame the nature of police volunteers' experiences within the policing context and provides new insights for future exploration of this field.

10.1 Constructing a Typology

Typologies are well-established analytical and organisational tools used by social researchers; allowing for the measurement and classification of cases based on a set of attributes (Collier et al, 2012). Doty and Glick (1994) have taken steps to further understand the use of typologies as a methodological tool for the organisation of data, allowing researchers to explore data organised within frameworks of 'conceptually derived interrelated sets of ideals types' (ibid: 232), and classification systems, or taxonomies, which refer to systems which 'categorise phenomena into mutually exclusive and exhaustive sets' (ibid: 232).

The authors do so to challenge the criticisms by some authors who have argued that typologies, as a tool for the development of theory, are inadequate beyond the level of organising data and cases. The authors highlight the criticisms of Blalock (1982), and their interpretation that typologies represent, at most, a means of organising data. This is a

criticism that is echoed by other authors across social science, and is particularly prominent amongst quantitatively minded researchers who find typologies as an unsophisticated means of measurement when compared to other, more robust – but less conceptually focused - methods of organising data (Collier et al, 2012). Examples of these criticisms can be found in Gill's (2006) preference of ratio levels of measurement (measuring variables on a scale of accurately defined quantifiable measurements), over the nominal level commonly favoured by those arranging the data into typologies (categorising variables using a scale which does not allow for accurate numerical comparison). Similarly, Blalock (1982) insists that categorical and nominal scales represent barriers to appropriate conceptualisation within social science.

Collier et al (2012) have explored these criticisms and have highlighted some misconceptions within these arguments' argument. They accept that there is less information in nominal scales, and indeed ordinal scales (scales which can order magnitude without standard measurement of difference), than there can be in ratio scales of ordering. However, the information contained within ratio scales of measurement may not be appropriate for measuring specific attributes, particularly those nuanced attributes for which no numerical measurement may adequately define (ibid, 220). In the measurement of a select attribute, there are certain assumptions placed on the relationships between different data, and these relationships can be more easily conceptualised and compared through use of nominal scales (ibid). They draw on the work of Barrett (2008) who observed that the assumed appropriateness of quantified, ratio ordered data can lead to a distortion of the information about the phenomena that research select to measure. When phenomena within the real world contains data that can be measured at this lower level, despite ratio ordered scales producing more accurate analysis of how those phenomena behave, categorical and nominal scales may represent the most appropriate measurements for these phenomena to account for their nuanced relationships and interactions with other abstract concepts (ibid). Collier et al (2012) continue by emphasising the need for nominal dichotomies in the construction of successful, absolute scales – 'working with the *highest* level of measurement requires the *lowest* level of measurement. Nominal scales are crucial here' (ibid, 220-221, emphasis in original).

Beyond discussions of appropriateness of typological categorisation as means to measure and organise data, Doty and Glick (1994) explored the advantages of using typologies as functioning theoretical tools. Typologies can define and identify constructs within the world, assist in exploring the relationships between these defined constructs, and

identify whether relationships between these constructs can be falsified. The authors asserted that meeting these three minimum criteria allowed typologies to be used as a conceptual tool for the positing and testing of theory. By exploring the relationship between unidimensional concepts, and positioning subjects into a space defined by those concepts, typologies can help explain observed phenomenon by considering the interplay between these conceptual factors within a particular subject group.

For this study, a typology provides a means by which different types of special constable can be identified; in relation to attributes which policing organisations understand to be desirable. Exploring the relationships between the different attributes which define a desirable special constable provides a basis for this typology's construction; those observed and definable attributes can be used to categorise different types of special constables from the gathered survey data. The attributes used to define and classify these categorisations can be conceptually derived through the identification of pre-existing types or characterisations of the subjects which the typology desires to classify (Doty and Glick, 1994). Should such as type or characterisation emerge within the context of the Special Constabulary, it can be used as a foundation upon which this study can construct a meaningful typology within which the data can be discussed and explored.

10.1.1 Constructing a Typology using Ideal Type

The approach which was used to formulate and construct a typology utilises the concept of the 'ideal type' – a concept developed by Weber (1949) as a means through which individual observed phenomena could be reduced to single, 'ideal' state. By discovering an 'ideal type' across a group of subjects, it is possible to consider a range of empirical cases against the attributes which define that ideal type.

An important point should be stressed here. By identifying and defining the characteristics of an ideal type, it is not the intention of the researcher who sets out to use this ideal type to create a typology (nor is this the intention of this study) to make normative claims about the nature of that type in relation to any other. Although the characterisation of the particular subject is considered to be 'ideal', this does not mean that the researcher considers that type to be *normatively superior* to any other (Gonning, 2017; Bailey, 1994). The ideal type acts as a single point of reference that represents an amalgamation of points of view, perceptions and understandings about the particular subject in question, and brings those subjective ideas together to generate a fictitious characterisation of the subject which

provides a hypothetical construct which other subjects can be empirically considered alongside. To make the claim that one type is superior to another, given the subjective nature of the process relied upon construct the type, would only amount to reflecting the opinion of those who constructed the typology.

Weber (1949) developed the concept of ideal type to be a methodological apparatus to examine the social world – to reduce the thoughts of a group to a single, hypothetical reference point, and to examine observed phenomena in relation to that reference point to develop a theoretical position which could explain those thoughts (Aronovitch, 2011). It is not an apparatus through which researchers normatively evaluate observed phenomena. Ideal types, as Weber (1949) intended, may not even exist within the observed phenomena of the real world; they may simply be a representation of a particular configuration of characteristics which other subjects could be measured against. It acts as a real or fictional reference point which can provide the basis for generating the scales within which subjects can be organised for the purposes of the typology, not as a basis for passing normative judgement of whether those characteristics or better or worse than any other. It is not the intention of this thesis to suggest that there is a normatively superior type of special constable. The typology is constructed as a means of provided a strong framework within which the narratives of the Special Constabulary uncovered within the data of the study can be organised. For the remainder of this chapter, and the chapters that follow, ‘ideal type’ refers to a special constable which conforms to a particular set of characteristics which represent a reference point for the construction of the typology, and is not an attempt by this thesis to normatively assess the characteristics of a special constable.

By identifying a characteristic example of what the police organisation may understand as an ideal type of special constable, a scale can be defined against which those characteristics may be measured. Those scales can be used to position other special constables based on their own characteristics. Although typologies have been relied upon extensively within policing studies (Broderick, 1977; Brown, 1988; Muir, 1977, Reiner, 1978), these are often constructed from a purely qualitative standpoint, defined by observing behaviour and developing purely descriptive categories to organise that observed phenomena. The approach in this study is a unique attempt to construct a typology which can be empirically tested through a synthesis of qualitative and quantitative data, to develop a more comprehensive understanding of why policing organisations value special constables in the way that they do.

As argued by the authors above, this method of constructing typologies from a single point of reference is a simplistic and illustrative one, but it suited the nature of this study. These qualitative data, which was collected, alongside reviews of literature produced by policing organisations, enabled me to identify several reflections and opinions from different policing actors in relation to characteristics that might define an existing type of special constable.

In 2006, a report on the proposals of the Scottish Executive to modernise the Special Constabulary in Scotland, the *Police (Scotland) (Special Constable) Regulations 2006*, highlighted that there was a characteristic type of special constable - the 'career' special - which existed as a universally recognised type of volunteer within policing . The 'career' special has already been mentioned in this study; they are introduced in Chapter 2 within the contemporary literature around police volunteering (Whittle, 2014, Callender et al, 2018) and are discussed briefly in Chapter 7 in respect to volunteer motivation (p 108-111). This report highlighted that there existed a group of volunteers that were not motivated by a desire to join the regular police force full time, and that these officers were more likely to remain for long periods of service. This allowed these volunteers to develop a great deal of experience working alongside regular officers representing a valuable resource for policing organisations (Whittle, 2017). Authors commented on the role that 'career' specials could play in contributing to the 'longer-term stability' of Special Constabularies, due to their longer, more consistent levels of service, and subsequent experience in that role (Callender et al, 2018; Hieke, 2018 Whittle, 2014, 2017). Others highlighted that the recruitment of 'career' specials represented a priority within the policing organisation, both in relation to the creation of a body of experienced and long-serving volunteers, and also in terms of achieving 'value for money'. Training costs of new recruits will be minimised if there is a core body of volunteers that remain for longer periods of service (Britton and Callender, 2017). 'Career' specials were also discussed in research related to the values and experiences of individual volunteers (Millie, 2016). At all levels of discussion around special constables, the 'career' special was a staple character in most of the conversations and narratives. As such, the category of Career Special was created as a reference point against which the framework of the typology could be constructed.

The characteristics of the Career Special represent volunteer attributes which the policing organisation view as desirable. The Career Special acts, for the purposes of constructing this typology, as an ideal type; their defined attributes can be used to construct a

hypothetical reference point, whose attributes could be defined for the purposes of delineating the framework for this typology. As such, the Career Special represents two key features; (1) they are not motivated to join the policing organisation as a regular officer; and (2) they have a long length of service and experience as a special constable. Motivation and length of service/experience represent core concepts which define the sort of special constable which policing organisations desire to attract and retain. This study used these two characteristics to frame scales which this typology relied upon to organise the data set into categorical types. This process is described below.

10.1.2 The attribute space

A typology is a process of division – grouping individuals together based on particular observable criteria to form distinct collections which share those particular attributes in common (Bailey, 1994). For the typology in this study, the criteria for grouping subjects within into types is found in attributes of the Career Special. These attributes can be used to generate a 'space' within which the cases can be organised – a space bound and defined by two or more variable scales, representing these identified attributes (Kluge, 2000). These attributes may be multidimensional and complex and are drawn out of the overarching concept that the typology is employed to organise (Collier et al, 2012). By placing individuals within this space, the theoretical positions about the nature of the attributes of the observed group can be made and tested (Doty and Glick, 1994).

Motivation for joining the Special Constabulary was a defining attribute for the Career Special, however, to what extent that motivation itself could be defined was not apparently clear within the literature. Simply put, the 'career' special was motivated *in some way*, but that motivation has only been identified within the literature as *something other than* a desire to join the regular police force. To construct a scale upon which the Career Special could be defined would require a consideration of volunteering motivation, exploring what is known about the motivations of individual volunteers initially to choose to devote their time to a volunteering activity.

As discussed in Chapter 3, authors have investigated the role that motivation to volunteer plays in the formation of the individual's understanding of their identity and function as a volunteer (Grube and Piliavin, 2000). Motivation to volunteer defines the sorts of activity in that volunteers come to understand as 'meaningful' (Broadgate and Horne, 1996; Finklestein et al, 2005); this concept of meaningful action is used to help explain the

decisions volunteers make in the life course of their volunteering activity (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991). In search of meaningful volunteering, the individual volunteer looks for opportunities to fulfil their initial motivations (Clary and Snyder, 1999). Should they be unable to find this, the volunteer may seek to leave that particular volunteering activity (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991) or they may alter their expectations of what they can achieve as a volunteer; shifting their reasons for remaining in the volunteer activity towards a different set of motivations, and a different accompanying set of expectations (Clary and Snyder, 1991; Clary et al, 1998).

Simply describing the motivation of the 'career' special as a non-career-orientation, which is the case in the policing literature (Callender et al, 2018; Hieke, 2018; Whittle, 2014) does little to clarify their motivation. A positive motivation, rather than the absence of a specific one, is required to define the Career Special as a categorical. As discussed in Chapter 3, the work of Clary et al (1998) provides a useful means to measure the motivations of individual volunteers to initial devote their time to volunteering activities. The authors had developed their Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) to measure motivation to volunteer, examining the functional motivations that they identified as existing across groups of volunteering individuals. The six function motivations – Value, Career, Understanding, Enhancement, Social and Protective – represents the core types of motivation which feature in decisions to join as a volunteer and to remain in that volunteering activity (Clary and Snyder, 1991). These six functional motivations to volunteer provide a starting point for exploring the motivation of the respondents across both study sites.

Authors who have commented on volunteer motivation have accurately identified that each of these motivations, to a different degree, may influence an individual volunteer in different ways (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991) and that motivation is a multi-layered phenomenon that cannot accurately be reduced to simple keywords for the purposes of categorisation (Yeung, 2004). However, by allowing the respondents in the survey to describe a *single* motivation for joining and remaining part of the Special Constabulary, this study was able to gather data on the most important motivation from the perspective of the volunteers themselves. The VFI, and the categories constructed by Clary et al (1998) provided the survey with a useful starting point for reflecting on special constables' motivations. For that reason, in the pilot study, the respondents were asked what their most important reason for joining the Special Constabulary was, and the answers were collected and analysed using qualitative data analysis software. The analysed responses were grouped

based on the motivation to which they most conformed, reflecting on the VFI categories described above. Within this survey data, no volunteers expressed a desire to join or remain based on a 'social' motivation – a means of improving social relationships and seeking socialisation – or a 'protective' motivation – a means of reducing negative feelings or personal problems – motivations as described by the VFI. The other four categories of motivation – career, value, enhancement and understanding - were indicated in different ways by the respondents in the survey, and all answers fit neatly into the functional motivation categories as defined by the VFI (Clary and Snyder, 1991; Clary et al, 1998).

As discussed above, Career Specials are experienced to a point of competence, and are viewed as reliable, due to their longer commitment to their volunteering role. This commitment flows from the fact they are not volunteering to fulfil personal goals, but rather to assist and aid the policing organisation, meaning their involvement in the Special Constabulary is ended by other life commitments or opportunities to join the regular police force. They do not have a quantifiable or tangible 'result' in mind other than contributing to the success of the policing organisation in a general sense, which is not as tangible a result those with other motivations may be able to identify. This draws attention back to the question of 'meaningfulness' in volunteering, and the intangible value with which volunteers identify in their volunteering activity. Volunteers motivated by egoistic motivations, such as 'career', 'enhancement' and 'understanding' categories on the volunteer functional inventory (Clary et al, 1998), are typified to use their volunteering to meet specific personal ends. For the construction of this typology, it is important to note that these egoistic motivations include the very motivation which *does not* define the Career Special; the 'career' motivation in the their list of functional motivations represents motivation and desire to improve chances of joining a specific career through participating in volunteering.

For 'enhancement' motivated volunteers, volunteering is a way learn more about themselves. As Clary et al (ibid) have defined it, they are motivated to take part in activities which 'help the ego grow and develop'; a direct 'egoistic' motivation which enhances the volunteer's feelings of importance, self-esteem and self-worth, which does not speak to the 'ideal type' of special constable that the policing organisation elude to when they discuss Career Specials.

'Understanding' motivated volunteers have an egoistic motivation which is less about improving their own feelings of personal worth, but rather concerned with accruing

knowledge about the world around them through their volunteering. Like the career motivated volunteers in some ways, the understanding volunteer may seek to accrue further knowledge about a field of employment before deciding on a future career path. Perhaps they are sampling policing and the policing environment ahead of career change or seeking more knowledge about a field through a personal interest. In seeking a tangible, personal benefit in the form of accruing expertise and knowledge, this suggests another motivation that is not indicative of the desires shared amongst Career Specials.

These egoistic motivations that exist within the survey do not describe the Career Special as well as the 'value' functional motivation, which Clary et al (ibid) have defined as a 'expression of altruistic and humanitarian values'. This is a motivation which drives volunteers to improve particular elements of the world around them, providing their time to enhance the ability of an organisation to help or to serve a particular group within society, or to improve the quality of life of these groups. They are a non-egoistic set of motivations, where the ends are not directly focused on the improvement of the volunteer themselves, but rather the improvement of the beneficiaries of their volunteering. Value motivations, more than any other category of motivations, seem to describe the Career Special most closely to the intended definition by the policing organisation.

Using the data from the survey, and reflecting on the categories explored above, the attribute space was using the categories of 'Career Motivation', 'Improvement Motivation', and 'Altruistic Motivation' respectively. This represented one dimension of the two-dimensional space within which the typology could be understood and constructed. The second of these dimensions needed to be identified, and an appropriate scale constructed, to complete that attribute space.

Experience, or length of service, is the second variable dimension. Career Specials appear to be characterised by longer lengths of service, however, simply measuring length of service did not go far enough to define this attribute as a categorical measurement. Taking length of service directly as a measurement of time would mean using an ordinal scale as one dimension of the attribute space which would produce high frequency of different categories. Length of service needed to be expressed on a categorical scale in order to construct an appropriate attribute space alongside motivation to volunteer categories and develop an attitude space within which the Career Special could be defined.

As a longer serving volunteer, the ‘career’ special represents a worthwhile economic investment for policing organisations (Bullock and Leeney, 2016; Whittle, 2014). Understanding the special constable, and their duration of volunteering activity, as an *investment* does provide insight for the appropriate measure of desirability. Longer length of service represents *experience,* which in turn characterises the ‘career’ special as a volunteer who demonstrates a greater degree of competence than their shorter serving counterparts and presents the policing organisation with a reliable and worthwhile resource. Seeing length of service, and the duration of volunteer activity, as a measurement of ‘experience’ better for defining the Career Special within the typology.

Using official information to consider what a relatively long period of service may look like in the Special Constabulary was not directly applicable. Police Scotland, in a Freedom of Information Request released in March 2018, highlighted that they did not maintain records of individual special constables’ lengths of service. A recent national survey of forty-three police forces’ special constabularies across England and Wales (Callender et al, 2018) investigated the length of service of their respondents. They revealed that 38% of the participants in their study had volunteered for less than two years, 30% between two and five years, and 32% volunteering for more than five years. The relationship between competency and length of service was not considered in this study, but these statistics relating to length of service, particularly the categorisation of those with less than two years of service, are useful in developing this as a variable for organising the attribute space.

Within the English study site, the SOLAP training which the special constables are required to complete (discussed in Chapter 8) gives the special constables a set period of two years for the completion of the personal training and development programme. Completing this programme allows the special constable to become ‘independent’, meaning that they are able to go out on patrol on their own without the direct supervision of a more experienced special constable or regular officer. They can also oversee another special constable that has not already completed that training. More importantly, the training is not optional, and the training must be completed within two years of their recruitment into the Special Constabulary. As such, this two-year period would represent the period of time within which the policing organisation in the English study site would expect a special constable to achieve a level of competence which would enable them to work independently. This training period thus represents a measure of the individual officer’s level of competency and capability.

In Scotland, the period of two years also represents a timeframe which the policing organisation used to measure competency, though not related to the special constables specifically. Two years is the standard length of a new regular officer's probationary period, and therefore represents a period that the policing organisation already associates with development and competence (Police Scotland, 2016; The Police Regulations, 2003). As the only non-subjective gauge of 'competency' across the two study sites relative to length of service, it is useful to use this two-year period to represent an appropriate length of time that indicates an experienced special constable. As such, the Career Special could be defined as a special constable that had over two years of experience, which defined them, for the purposes of this study, as experienced.

With the collected data from the study sites, responses have been separated into categories based on whether the individual officer had volunteered for less or more than two years. It should be noted that this scale is not without limitation; the limited literature and research connecting length of service to competency within the Special Constabulary may mean this scale is imperfect. Additionally, measuring competency and experience is a deeply subjective practice; constructing this variable based on the subjective nature of what might qualify as competence or experience may hide other dimensions that this study was not able to identify with the data and literature it considered. With these caveats in mind, two years of services was considered to be the length of time that a special constables was required to serve to be considered 'experienced', separating respondents into Inexperienced (less than two years' service) and Experienced (two years' service or more) cases.

10.2 A Working Typology of Special Constables

With both dimensions of the attribute space defined, a matrix was constructed which represented these two dimensions of motivation and experience, onto which the respondents in the study could be placed for further categorisation and exploration (Figure 10.1). The Career Special was positioned within the space defined as 'Experienced, Altruistic Motivation'.

Then, in contrast to the Career Special, an antithesis of this type was considered; a special constable with a short length of service motivated to become a regular officer. There was some concern from authors, considered in Chapter 3, about the role the Special Constabulary plays as a training ground for potential future regular officers (Dhani, 2012; Pepper, 2014; Bauer, 2005). It was useful therefore, to consider special constables that were

motivated by a desire to become a regular, and who represent potentially the shortest lived type of special to be placed at the opposing end of the attribute space from the Career Special. This category, which was named ‘Future Probationer’, was positioned in the space defined ‘Inexperienced, Career Motivated’.

The other defined spaces were labelled Type 2 to Type 5, for the purpose of constructing the initial frameworks of the typology, and reflected the other configurations of motivation and experience which were determined by the attribute spaces construction, resulting the following configuration (Fig 10.1, below). Kluge (2000) highlights the importance of ensuring that the cases within each individual group resemble each other as far as possible on the level of the type. There must be sufficient distinction between the different groups at the level of the typology. The survey served to explore these initial groupings of type within the attribute space, and to explore the shared attributes of cases within each of the individual groups (internal homogeneity) and identify difference between the groups when compared against each other (external heterogeneity) (ibid).

This process not only allows for a distinct classification of the types at the point of organisation and analysis, but also allows for a better understanding of how the types operate beyond its conceptualisation. It also facilitates a better examination of the dimensions within which the typology is constructed, enabling the researcher to further refine, expand or reduce the attribute space in an empirically grounded way.

	Inexperienced	**Experienced**
Career Motivation	*Future Probationer:* Inexperienced, Career Motivation	*Type 2:* Experienced, Career Motivation
Improvement Motivation	*Type 3:* Inexperienced, Improvement Motivation	*Type 4:* Experienced, Improvement Motivation
Altruistic Motivation	*Type 5:* Inexperienced, Altruistic Motivation	*Career Special:* Experienced, Altruistic Motivation

Figure 10. 1; The attribute space for a typology of special constables, based on volunteer’s motivation to join and length of service

Type was analysed within the survey data set as a new variable which could be compared to other variables in pursuit of highlighting the relationships between them. This allowed me to reflect upon the similarities shared between respondents within each individual type, and highlight the differences between the different types, to emphasise internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity.

To achieve this, the data from Scottish and English surveys were merged, and the type variable was explored across the data set as a whole. The low number of respondents to the English survey meant that direct comparisons between the Scottish and English respondents was difficult, particularly when trying to capture the nuanced differences between categorisations of the different types. Some comparative exploration of the data framed by the typology is considered in Chapter 11, but for the purposes of exploring the shared characteristics of the individual types, and the differences observed across the different types, merging the data from both surveys represented a more appropriate set of data to explore the typology. The distribution of the survey data across this attribute space is considered below.

10.3 Applying the Typology to the Survey Respondents

The 109 respondents to the Scottish survey and the 26 respondents to the English survey were asked to highlight statements which most accurately reflected the reason why they joined the Special Constabulary, with the statements representing Clary et al's (1998) list of functional motivations. An option was provided from respondents to give an 'other' motivation, and these free text responses were analysed, and operationalised into the existing five categories where most appropriate. As expected following the pilot study, and discussed earlier in this chapter, the 'social' and 'protective' motivations did not feature across the respondents, resulting in the respondents being categorised into the 'value' (Altruistic) 'understanding' or 'enhancement' (Improvement) and 'career' (Career) motivations as defined by the VFI (ibid). The respondents were then categorised based on their length of service within the Special Constabulary – divided into two sets of respondents based on whether or not they had spent less than or more than two years volunteering within the policing organisation.

10.3.1 Distribution of Survey Respondents across the Typology

Using these two variables, an additional variable was constructed within the data set which categorised the respondents based on which typological category they represented.

Below, the typology is considered as an independent variable within the data set. Table 10.1 below shows the distribution of the respondents across this constructed typology.

	Inexperienced	**Experienced**	**Total**
Career	*Future Probationer*	*Type 2*	
Motivation	19 (14.0%)	15 (11.1%)	34 (25.2%)
Improvement	*Type 3*	*Type 4*	
Motivation	22 (16.3%)	24 (17.8%)	46 (34.1%)
Altruistic	*Type 5*	*Career Special*	
Motivation	12 (8.9%)	43 (31.9%)	55 (40.7%)
Total	53 (39.3%)	82 (60.7%)	*135*

Table 10.1; Frequency of survey respondents within the categories of the typology, with proportions of total number of respondents shown. N= 135 total respondents in the survey that provided their motivation and length of service

Each of the types is represented within the responses to the survey, with the proportion of those within the different types ranging from 8.9% of the total population (Type 5 respondents) to 31.9% of the total population (Career Specials). This varying representation is a good indicator of external heterogeneity; with all types represented across the total population in varying proportions, these individual can be examined as both independent groups, with shared commonalities, and as a collection of different types, with potential differences which contrast to the other represented categories. 78.2% of those who were represented by the Altruistic Motivation attribute also shared the Experienced attribute, compared to the 44.1% and 52.2% in the Career and Improvement categories, respectively. This observation suggests that there is a relationship between longer serving special constables and the desire to give back or contribute to the policing organisation without the desire for personal benefit or reward. Conversely, 77.4% of those within the Inexperienced type also represented one of the egoistic motivation categories, compared to the 22.6% that highlighted Altruistic motivation as their reason for joining the Special Constabulary. This provides an important distinction across the different types, reinforcing the external heterogeneity across the types, and further suggesting a relationship between those most experienced special constables and an altruistic or value-based motivation.

Another important observation is the similarity in proportion of Experienced and Inexperienced volunteers who indicated the Career and Improvement egoistic motivations. Only 11.8% more of Career Motivated special constables indicated that they had less than two years' experience than those that indicated that they had spent longer than two years in the Special Constabulary. There is even narrower a gap (4.3%) between those who indicated a service of two years or more, and those with less than two years, across the Improvement motivated type. It suggests that there is less of a relationship between experience and motivation when the motivation in question is more egoistic in nature.

10.3.2 Age of Respondents compared to Distributed Type

In order to better investigate the internal homogeneity of these types, further analysis was carried out to clarify if differences existed within these categories of volunteer. The age of the respondents in the survey was considered, to reveal whether any patterns emerged between categorised type and respondent age (Table 10.2 below).

Of the 135 respondents to the survey, one respondent chose not to give their age when asked, and therefore, these results only reflect 134 respondents. Firstly, when considering those in the youngest of the age categories, 50% of those aged 18-21 are found within the Future Probationer category – those with less than two years' experience, motivated by a desire to become a police officer. The Future Probationer category of volunteers tends to the younger age bands across the survey respondents, with 77.6% of those in that category indicating that they are under the age of 30. Considering the division across the different types in relation to age, the different motivational attributes of the typology are typified by the current ages of the respondents. Whereas only 33.3% of those motivated by Career Motivation (Future Probationers and Type 2s) are aged over 30 year old, 54.3% of those motivated by Improvement Motivations (Type 3 and 4), and 89.1% of those motivated by Altruistic Motivations (Type 5 and Career Specials) indicate that they are 30 years old or more. This places more confidence in the way that the typology was constructed, generating clear distinctions between the different types based on age based on motivational difference.

Comparing those volunteers who are similarly motivated, but have a different level of experience, provide further distinction between the types. In all types in this typology, the volunteers who fall into the Experienced category are more likely than their Inexperienced counterparts who share their motivations to be within the older age bands.

Table 10.2; Frequency of survey respondent's current ages, compared against their categorised type. Proportion of respondents within each of the categorised types shown. N= 134 total respondents who were given a type variable, and who provided their current age.

	18-21	**22-25**	**26-29**	**30-33**	**34-37**	**38-41**	**42-45**	**46-49**	**50 and Over**	**Total**
Future Probationer: **Inexperienced, Career Motivation**	9 (50%)	4 (22.2%)	1 (5.6%)	3 (16.7%)	1 (5.6%)	-	-	-	-	18
Type 2: **Experienced, Career Motivation**	-	3 (20%)	5 (33.3%)	2 (13.3%)	3 (20%)	-	1 (6.7%)	1 (6.7%)	-	15
Type 3: **Inexperienced, Improvement Motivation**	4 (18.2%)	6 (27.3%)	3 (13.6%)	2 (9.1%)	1 (4.5%)	2 (9.1%)	2 (9.1%)	1 (4.5%)	1 (4.5%)	22
Type 4: **Experienced, Improvement Motivation**	-	3 (12.5%)	5 (20.8%)	2 (8.3%)	1 (4.2%)	2 (8.3%)	3 (12.5%)	4 (16.7%)	4 (16.7%)	24
Type 5: **Inexperienced, Altruistic Motivation**	2 (16.7%)	-	2 (16.7%)	1 (8.3%)	1 (8.3%)	1 (8.3%)	2 (16.7%)	1 (8.3%)	2 (16.7%)	12
Career Special: **Experienced, Altruistic Motivation**	-	-	2 (4.7%)	-	4 (9.3%)	1 (2.3%)	5 (11.6%)	12 (27.9%)	19 (44.2%)	43
Total	15 (11.2%)	16 (11.9%)	18 (13.4%)	10 (7.5%)	11 (8.2%)	6 (4.5%)	13 (9.7%)	19 (14.2%)	26 (19.4%)	134

For example, whereas only 22.4% of Inexperienced Future Probationers indicate that they are over 30 years of age, 46.7% of the Experienced Type 2 volunteers are aged over 30, despite sharing the same Career Motivation. The same trend, that there are more Experienced volunteers over the age of thirty when compared to the type which shares their motivation for joining the Special Constabulary, is true across the other two pairs of motivational types. Experienced, in relation to this typology, typifies special constables based on age as well as the attributes used to frame the types. Progressing sequentially through the types from Future Probationer to Career Special, there is a trend which suggests that the typical volunteer within those categories will be older than the typical volunteer in the preceding category. It provides an important confirmation of the internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity across the types, and also provides evidence of an important distinction which can be made about the nature of volunteer within the policing organisations when considering the interactions between volunteer motivation and length of service.

Perhaps this distinction which has emerged would have been expected, mainly because the Inexperienced group of special constables, in general, would have been more likely to indicate that they were at an earlier stage of their life and career than those of a more Experienced type. In order for experience (measured in this typology by length of service) to be accrued, the volunteer would need to have had spent time within that volunteering role to accrue that experience, and that leads to the assumption that Experienced types within the typology would be more likely to be a more mature volunteer. What might be less expected was the clear age profiles with which the application of the survey respondents to the typology provides.

The intersection of the experience and motivation in constructing the typology has generated types which represent defined age profiles of the volunteers. Future Probationers and Type 2 volunteers represent the youngest of the types, with Future Probationers as the Inexperienced of the two types tending to be younger than their Career Motivation sharing counterparts. Type 3 and Type 4 volunteers have a less defined trend when considering age bands when compared to the other four types, however, despite having a more diverse age profile than the others, the same distinction between younger Inexperienced volunteers and older Experienced volunteers can still be observed across the two types. A much higher proportion of the Altruistically motivated Type 5 and Career Specials tend towards the older

age bands, with the more Experienced Career Special representing the more mature volunteer across both types.

This evidence provides the typology with a much stronger representation of the character profiles. Given the caveat mentioned earlier, that older volunteers have had more time to volunteer, and therefore are more likely to be found in the more experience categories within the typology, further analysis concerning the relationship between age and type was considered; this time the age at which the special constable joined the Special Constabulary.

10.3.3 Age the Respondents joined the Special Constabulary compared to Distributed Type

In order to reflect upon the interaction between type and age further, the survey data was considered alongside the age at which the individual respondents joined the Special Constabulary, and how those joining ages were distributed across the defined types within the typology (Table 10.3 below) Five of the respondents did not answer the question in the survey related to the age that they joined the Special Constabulary, and therefore, these results are based on 131 responses. Considering the Future Probationers and Type 2 special constables, similarly large majorities of those types join the Special Constabulary before the age of 30 (84.3% and 79.9% respectively). The proportion within each of the types of those joining the Special Constabulary before the age of 30 trends lower sequentially through these different types, confirming the distinction across the different types constructed within the typology.

A similar trend emerges in this comparison as it did when comparing the current ages of the special constables within the survey data. Considering each set of motivationally similar types, the proportion of those joining the Special Constabulary at earlier age bands is higher across the Inexperienced type within each motivational pairing. Whereas 79% of Type 3 special constables joined before the age of 30, only 54.2% of those categorised as Type 4 fell into these joining age bands. A similar trend is featured when comparing Type 5 to Career Specials – 45.5% of Type 5 joined the Special Constabulary before the age of 30 compared to 23.5% of Career Specials. Joining age, as with the current ages of the special constables, seems to build into the profile of the categorised volunteers.

Table 10.3; Frequency of respondents Special Constabulary joining ages, compared against their categorised type. Proportion of respondents within each of the categorised types shown. N= 131 total respondents who were given a type variable, and who provided the age at which they joined the Special Constabulary.

	18-21	**22-25**	**26-29**	**30-33**	**34-37**	**38-41**	**42-45**	**46-49**	**50 and Over**	**Total**
Future Probationer: **Inexperienced, Career Motivation**	9 (47.4%)	4 (21.1%)	3 (15.8%)	3 (15.8%)	-	-	-	-	-	19
Type 2: **Experienced, Career Motivation**	8 (53.3%)	2 (13.3%)	2 (13.3%)	1 (6.7%)	-	1 (6.7%)	1 (6.7%)	-	-	15
Type 3: **Inexperienced, Improvement Motivation**	5 (26.3%)	6 (31.6%)	4 (21.1%)	-	-	3 (15.8%)	1 (5.3 %)	-	-	19
Type 4: **Experienced, Improvement Motivation**	6 (25%)	3 (12.5%)	4 (16.7%)	4 (16.7%)	3 (12.5%)	1 (4.2%)	1 (4.2%)	2 (8.3%)	-	24
Type 5: **Inexperienced, Altruistic Motivation**	1 (9.1%)	3 (27.3%)	1 (9.1%)	1 (9.1%)	2 (18.2%)	1 (9.1%)	1 (9.1%)	1 (9.1%)	-	11
Career Special: **Experienced, Altruistic Motivation**	2 (4.7%)	4 (9.4%)	4 (9.4%)	11 (25.6%)	7 (16.3%)	8 (18.6%)	5 (11.6%)	1 (2.3%)	1 (2.3%)	43
Total	31 (23.7%)	22 (16.8%)	18 (13.7%)	20 (15.3%)	12 (9.2%)	14 (10.7%)	9 (6.9%)	4 (3.1%)	1 (0.8%)	131

The inverse trend is true at the other end of the joining age bands – Type 5 and Career Specials had higher proportions of respondents who indicated that they joined at a more mature age, with 27.3% of Type 5, and 34.8% of Career Specials indicating that they joined over the age of 38. There is more variation in joining ages within the Improvement Motivation types (Type 3 and 4) with a larger variation of proportions within those types across the different joining ages. This generates more nuance to the profiles developed for each of the types as they emerge within the survey.

Higher proportions of the Career Motivated and Improvement Motivated types joined the Special Constabulary before the age of 30, compared to the majority of Altruistic Motivated types who joined after. Experienced types are less likely that their similar motivated counterparts to have joined at early ages. Additionally, considering the oldest age bands represented above, further patterns emerge. The only respondents to join over the age of 50 came from the Career Special type. Those who joined between the ages of 46 and 49 came from the Altruistically Motivated groups, and the Experienced, Improvement Motivated group. Type 2 and Type 3 types each have one respondent joining over the age of 42, and the oldest joining age for Future Probationers is in the 30 to 33 age band. This further helps define the profiles of each of the types, with the Future Probationers representing the youngest, and the Career Specials representing the oldest, in relation to joining ages across the types, with variation of the other types in between.

This prompted further questions which deserved to be explored. Experience, as a dimension within this attribute space, suggests that there might be a temporal element to this typology. How has this time within the Special Constabulary impacted upon these individual volunteers, and how might that be reflected in this typology? The link between motivation and commitment to volunteering activity was discussed earlier in this thesis (Chapter 3) and prompted consideration about the ways that motivations interact with volunteer's commitment and subsequent length of service. It is also true to say that motivations are not static things in the volunteering life course. A joining motivation for a volunteer may evolve into something different and manifest itself in different ways throughout the course of the volunteers' journey within that volunteering activity. Therefore, exploring the way that the motivations shift, and change is an important consideration for this study. To reflect on this, survey data which indicated the special constables most important reasons for remaining a special constable was considered in relation to the typology.

10.3.4 Motivations for Remaining a Special Constable compared to Distributed Type

As with the survey question which measured the special constables' reasons for joining the Special Constabulary, the respondents were asked to provide the motivation which best described their reasons for remaining. This list was identical to the motivations for joining and contained a similar free text box for 'other' responses to be specified in the volunteer's own words. Again, these results were codified, and the free text response operationalised into appropriate categories based on the functional motivation categories defined by Clary et al (1998). This codification highlighted that the 'Career', 'Improvement' and 'Altruistic' categories that were created for the typology based on joining motivation were also applicable to these motivations to remain. These motivations to remain were compared against the typology to produce the following results (Table 10.4 below).

One of the respondents did not answers the question pertaining to motivations for remaining a special constable, and as such, these results are based on the data collected from 134 of the responses. Considering each of the types, the only type in which the highest frequency of volunteers shifted their motivation away from their joining motivation was the Type 2 special. Across all other types, the majority of special constables within those types indicated that their motivations remained within the functional motivation.

Of the Career motivated types, the highest proportion of those who changed their motivation away from their original joining motivation indicated a new Improvement focused motivation to remain (71.4% of seven Future Probationers, and 66.6% of nine Type 2 volunteers who changed motivation) – still remaining within the egoistic motivation categories rather than shifting to the Altruistic functional motivation category. This suggests that when those originally motivated by a career in policing shift their motivation, they remain a special constable to improve their own skills and receive another form of tangible benefit, rather than remaining a volunteer for the benefit of their community or for some other value driven motivation.

Of the Improvement motivated types, there is less consistency between the two types as to which motivation they shift towards if they depart from their original joining motivation. For Type 3 special constables, equal proportions within that type (50% of the 8 that changed motivation) highlighted that their motivation had changed to either Career or Altruistic Motivations. 83.3% of twelve Type 4 special constables who shifted motivation indicated that their motivation was Altruistic in nature.

Table 10.4; Frequency of respondent's motivations to remain, compared against distributed type. Proportion of respondents within each of the categorised types shown. N= 134 total respondents who were given a type variable, and who provided the age at which they joined the Special Constabulary.

	Career Motivation for Remaining	**Improvement Motivation for Remaining**	**Altruistic Motivation for Remaining**	**Total**
Future Probationer: **Inexperienced, Career Motivation**	12 (63.2%)	5 (26.3%)	2 (10.5%)	19
Type 2: **Experienced, Career Motivation**	5 (35.7%)	6 (42.9%)	3 (21.4%)	14
Type 3: **Inexperienced, Improvement Motivation**	4 (18.2%)	14 (63.6%)	4 (18.2%)	22
Type 4: **Experienced, Improvement Motivation**	2 (8.3%)	12 (50%)	10 (41.7%)	24
Type 5: **Inexperienced, Altruistic Motivation**	2 (16.6%)	3 (25%)	7 (58.3%)	12
Career Special: **Experienced, Altruistic Motivation**	2 (4.7%)	9 (20.9%)	32 (74.4%)	43
Total	27 (20.1%)	49 (37.6%)	58 (43.3%)	134

Of the Altruistically motivated, Career Specials represented the most likely type of special constable to maintain their original joining motivation. 78.8% of Career Specials indicated that they retained their original functional motivation, as compared to 58.3% of their Type 5 counterparts who had the same joining motivation. Of both types, the majority of those who changed motivations away from their joining motivations highlighted a shift towards Improvement focused motivations (60% of the five Type 5 who changed motivation and 81.2% of the Career Specials who changed motivation). These altruistically-motivated types were proportionally the lowest of the 6 types to highlight a Career focused motivation as their motivation to remain: 51.6% of Career Motivation specials remained motivated by Career motivations, 13% of those who joined motivated by Improvement focused motivations highlighted a shift to Career, and only 7.3% of those who joined motivated by Altruistic reasons gave Career motivation as their reason for remaining.

These findings on reasons for remaining a special constable add more depth to the distinction between the typology's different categories and types. With the above reflection in mind, profiles were generated for the six constructed types and named them for the purposes of further identifying them within the data.

10.5 Six Types of Special Constable

Below are the constructed profiles of the six types of special constables that emerged from typology considered above, constructed by examining the overlap between joining motivation and level of experience within the Special Constabulary. The profiles were defined by exploring how these constructed types interacted with survey data relating to their current ages, joining age and the reasons they had for remaining special constables.

10.5.1 The Future Probationer: Inexperienced and Career Motivated

The Future Probationer represents the youngest of the special constables across the types, and the special constable who is most likely to join at an early opportunity. Originally motivated by a desire to become a regular constable, they are relatively less likely to change their motivations whilst a volunteer, maintaining motivation by the prospect of a career within policing.

10.5.2 The Still-Specials: Experienced and Career Motivated

Still-Specials are likely to be amongst the younger special constables but are not as likely to be amongst the youngest of volunteers within the Special Constabulary, particularly when compared to their similarly motivated Future Probationer counterparts. What distinguishes them from Future Probationers specifically is the higher likelihood that, during their longer service as part of the Special Constabulary, they have shifted their motivations away from joining the policing organisation as a regular officer, and justify their volunteering based on a new motivation. This is most likely an egoistic motivation to improve their own skills and satisfy their own interests. Their reasons for remaining are less likely to still be found in a desire to become a regular officer, suggesting a change of heart towards the idea of joining, or an inability to join as a regular officer.

10.5.3 The Improvement Focused: Inexperienced and Improvement Motivated

Improvement Focused special constables have a less defined profile than the Career motivated types; found at all age ranges of special constables. They include the youngest and oldest joining age ranges, indicating a diverse group of special constables motivated by a desire to improve their own skills and satisfy their own unique interests around policing, law, and order. They are more likely than not to maintain these Improvement focused desires whilst volunteering than they are to change them to another desire or motivation. When these motivations do shift, they are diverse in their motivation changes, leaning equally to Career and Altruistic motivations as their new motivation to remain.

10.5.4 The Invested Egoists: Experienced and Improvement Motivated

Invested Egoists share a similar diverse age profile with their Improvement motivated counterparts in the Improvement Focused category. Unlike Improvement Focused types, however, they are more likely to join the Special Constabulary beyond the age of 30, particularly during their 30s where Improvement Focused special constables appear less likely to join. Another distinctive feature which delineates them from the Improvement Focused group is a division between maintaining or changing their motivation for being part of the Special Constabulary. They are just as likely to remain a volunteer for their own Improvement focused desires than they are to change them. If they do indicate that they have changed motivation, this

motivation is overwhelmingly towards a more value-based, Altruistic motivation, and a desire to give back to the policing organisation and their community.

10.5.5 The Desired Recruits: Inexperienced and Altruistically Motivated

The Desired Recruit is less likely to join the Special Constabulary before the age of 30, and more likely to have joined at a more mature age compared to the other Inexperienced types. They represent a diverse range of ages across special constables and are proportionally more likely that the other Inexperienced types to represent the more mature age ranges of volunteers. They are more likely than not to maintain their original joining motivation, but when they do change, they are slightly more likely to shift their motivational focus to Improvement rather than Career motivations.

10.5.6 The Career Special: Experienced and Altruistically Motivated

Career Specials represent the oldest serving special constables and the special constables who choose to join at a more mature stage in their life course. They are the least likely to indicate that they have changed their original Altruistic motivation, and if that motivation does change, it is overwhelmingly towards a desire to improve their own skills and pursue their own interests rather than towards a desire to become a regular officer.

10.6 Conclusion

This typology was generated in order to better explore the Special Constabulary and the special constables which make up its rank and file. Interestingly, this typology contains a temporal element within its construction which other typologies in policing have not considered in past literature. Whereas typologies have long been a feature of policing studies, and have been an incredibly useful means for exploring policing behaviours and styles of policing across police officers (Muir, 1977, Reiner, 1978, Brown, 1988), few have considered a the journey and the impact of time and experience on these policing actors within the construction of these typologies. Whereas these typologies are often focused on the way that the officer behaves and are constructed based on a qualitative appreciation of their attitudes in order to provide an oversight of the different styles of police work, this typology was quantitatively grounded and explores the way that experience, time and exposure to the policing environment interacts with pre-dispositions. The inclusion of this temporal element within this typology ensures that

exposure to the features of policing, and the impact of that exposure, can be accounted for and captured within the description of the special constable.

Understanding these impacts, and how longer experience of them may or may not influence the character and the role played by these special constables is a core feature of the exploration of the Special Constabulary within this thesis. Chapter 11 takes these defined types and considers them in relation to the qualitative data within this study. By examining the qualitative data through this typological lens, it places both volunteer motivation and volunteer experience (two of the key thematic building blocks of this thesis) into a structured framework from which this study can draw more meaning from the interactions and impacts of the policing environment on volunteering experiences.

The next chapter takes each of these constructed types in turn and considers these defined characters alongside the qualitative findings presented earlier in the thesis, to see if this typological framework better explains the nature of special constables' experiences within the policing environment. It concludes by examining the limitations of the typology, both in this particular study and in application elsewhere.

Chapter 11: Types of Special Constable

The previous chapter documented the construction and development of a typology for special constables, framed through comparing volunteering motivation and experience with time served. As mentioned in the conclusion of the last chapter, the temporal element of the typology – that it incorporates the effects of time and experience within its framework – leads to interesting questions about the unique journeys of these different special constables as they continue to be exposed to the policing environment. This chapter explores each of the types generated by this typology, in relation to the qualitative findings presented earlier in this thesis, to better illustrate the profiles of these special constables. It bears in mind this temporal element of special constable type, and their journey through their volunteering experience, in order to construct a profile which accounts for the potential change in motivation and direction which special constables encounter as they continue to volunteer.

Additionally, comparative analysis is used at some stages to better illustrate the differences which emerge when considering the typology across the Scottish and English study sites. This comes with a caveat – the frequency of responses to the English survey was much lower than the frequency captured in Scotland (discussed in Chapter 4), and therefore, the comparative analysis in this chapter relies on comparing the Scottish results to the survey to a relatively lower number of responses from the English survey results. As such, where comparative claims are made between Scottish and English special constables, they should be considered as illustrative claims for the purposes of generating a more substantial profile for each of the types constructed in the previous chapter. The generalisability of the claims made in this chapter must, therefore, be interpreted with caution, and this is discussed further at the end of the chapter.

11.1 The Future Probationer

The Future Probationer type – those with less than two years of service who indicated that they joined the Special Constabulary motivated by a desire to become a regular officer – was of a particular interest in the context of this thesis. There were claims from some special constable participants, particularly in England, which highlighted concerns that recruiting these volunteers – who are prone to remaining for short periods of time in favour of leaving for an

opportunity to become a regular officer – could lead to damage to the continuity and strength of the Special Constabulary (Chapter 6, pg. 93-94). While the respondents did not necessarily see the incorporation of this type of special constable as an inherently *bad* thing – providing a stream of experienced recruits into the ranks of the regulars was considered a positive – these special constables still lamented the paradoxical nature of the Special Constabulary's success. When the Special Constabulary was successful in developing experienced volunteer police officers, then their overall number of volunteers dropped, as more became successful in applying to the regular police service. This, it must be said, could only be true if there were members of the Special Constabulary who were primarily motivated – either at the point of joining like the Future Probationer, or later in their volunteering lifespan – by the prospect of a policing career.

This may be more of a concern in the English police service examined in this study than it was in the Scottish division. Whereas 10.1% of the Scottish survey respondents (11 of the total 109 Scottish respondents) fell into the Future Probationer category, 30.8% of the English respondents (8 of the total 26 English respondents) were identified as this type, representing the largest single type of special constables within the typology across the English survey site. Although the population of the English survey respondents was relatively small, the concerns raised by the special constables mentioned above and in Chapter 6, are perhaps made in relation to a larger proportion of Future Probationers which they recruit in comparison to the Scottish survey site. The recruitment of Future Probationers, therefore, is something of a bitter-sweet reflection of the role of the Special Constabulary. They represent a highly motivated individual, who is willing to devote their time to this volunteering activity, even though the contribution which they represent might only ever be short-lived.

This short-lived nature, however, may also represent a concern when considering police organisations perceptions that experience and practical exposure to policing as an indication of competency (see reflections on the impact of training, in Chapter 8, pg. 111). If the Future Probationer represents the shortest lived of the special constable types, they may also be viewed as the least reliable and competent across the Special Constabulary. With that being said, if it is true that the largest frequency of type in the English police service examined in this study are Future Probationers, then this seemed to do little to damage the reputation of the Special Constabulary in the eyes of the police organisation there. The findings presented in Chapter 8

around independence – which shows the level of autonomy that the special constables are afforded there – suggests that the higher proportion of Future Probationers did little to undermine the degree of independence they were afforded to complete tasks independently of regular officer oversight.

These issues related to competence, as measured by policing experience, may also be exacerbated due to the age profile of the Future Probationer type. Across both study sites, no Future Probationer exceeded the 34-37 age band, and 50% of the total number of Future Probationers indicated that they were aged 18-21 (Table 10.2 above). This relative youthfulness may stand as a barrier to inclusion for special constables if that translates into a perception amongst regulars that they do not have a valid level of experience to be considered competent. The experiences of one Future Probationer (*'Agnes'*, see pg. 104) highlighted her own concern that youth translated into a perceived liability. If this youthfulness stands as a barrier to integration of Future Probationers, and experience – in the eyes of the policing organisation – is a measure of competency, then there is a case to be made that the Future Probationer, as a type, is viewed as a less competent special constable when contrasted with the other types.

Another feature of the Future Probationer, identified in Chapter 7, is the perception that those special constables have towards the symbolic features of policing (the uniform, the ceremonies, etc. discussed section 7.1, pg. 99-104). They possessed an idealism which went hand in hand with a desire to become a regular police officer, which manifested in a subscription to the symbolic features of policing. As explored in Chapter 7, this idealism, while it added internal validity to the special constable's position in the organisation, it also stood to damage their position in the eyes of regular officers who were more likely to see it as a misplaced interpretation of what those symbols meant. As one regular officer commented ('*Sgt Mary',* pg. 102), putting on the uniform means that they are police officer whilst they are wearing it, but that does not mean they subscribe to the same experiences and reality that regular officers face daily. Again, experience and exposure to policing is used by regular officers to define those special constables who could be considered competent members of the policing organisation.

From an analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data, the Future Probationer represents a special constable who is more likely to be, and to join, at a younger age than other special constables, and one who is likely to maintain a career-driven motivation for remaining a

special constable. They have an idealistic perception of their role within the policing organisation, which is driven by their fixation on the symbolic features of policing. However, they are part of the paradoxical nature of the Special Constabulary's success – the more well-trained recruits that Special Constabularies produce, the higher the turnover of volunteers moving to the regular police service. Additionally, their relative lack of experience makes them a potential target for the negative perception of regular officers who interpret experience as competence.

11.2 The Still-Specials

Comparing the Still-Special – those initially motivated by a career as a regular officer, but still volunteering after two years - provides an interesting comparison to the Future Probationers discussed above. As considered in Chapter 10, the Still-Specials are more likely to be found across the younger volunteers, although, as might be expected by virtue of this type being a more Experienced special constable, do not represent as young a volunteer as their similarly motivated Future Probationer counterparts. The major difference between this type of special constable and the Future Probationer is the high proportion of this type which report a shift in their motivation to remain a special constable. Almost two-thirds (64.3%, as reported in Table 10.3 in Chapter 10) of this category of volunteer report that they no longer are motivated to remain a special constable by a desire to become a regular officer. This is remarkably similar to the proportion of Future Probationers who report that their career motivation has remained the same (63.2%). The qualitative data which was collected around Still-Specials was relatively limited when compared to the other types.

One might expect that the changing motivation of the special constables in the Still-Special type is a by-product of longer exposure to the policing environment. The lone Still-Special represented in the qualitative data, however, reported that he did not change his desire to become a regular police officer because of his longer exposure to policing and despite his negative experiences of being a special constable which he reported to me during the interview ('*Donald',* pp.103-106). As he put it, the special constables experience was part of his preparation to become a regular officer, and in his own words, there was a degree of obligation which he felt was expressed in remaining a special constable in order to become a regular in the future (pg. 105). There is an interplay between the level of exposure to policing and the strong

motivational pull that the Career Motivation seems to have. For this special constable, that motivational drive was strong enough for him to forget about negative experiences associated with regular officers' perception of him, which, as reported by him, would have happened during a time when he was categorised as a Future Probationer. For this Still-Special, even the most negative of experiences did not overcome the motivation he had to become a police officer, and he did not let it sour the ideal perception he had of the job which he was motivated to secure. For others, and the majority of Still-Specials in the study, it is not clear from the evidence gathered why they may choose to change motivation away from a career in the regulars.

Bullock's (2014) claim that volunteers 'test the water' and use the Special Constabulary as a means for gathering first-hand experience to decide if policing is the correct career choice may be relevant here. Potentially, the Still-Specials represent those that remain a special constable after having decided that a career as a police officer is not for them, but still find a great deal of enjoyment, or another altruistic or egoistic purpose. This, given the above example of the disgruntled but still career motivated Still-Special, is subject to the strength of the individual's desire and motivation to become a regular. Even when faced with negative experiences, some Still-Specials may be so determined to join as a regular that the 'testing the water' is replaced by a self-imposed obligation to remain a volunteer.

As such, the Still-Special is presented as a volunteer who is determined to remain a special constable, initially motivated by a career in policing, who has allowed their time and experience within the Special Constabulary to crystallise their purpose. For some, the intensely personal desire to become a police officer remains following this exposure. However, for these specials, their time as a volunteer is enough to inform their career-making decisions in such a way that they shift their motivations towards a less career-orientated driver. Perhaps this is because they have tested the water and find that their expectations no longer align with reality. Perhaps they have tried and failed to become a regular officer, and despite this rejection, still see their time volunteering within the Special Constabulary as a source of skill development, such as for those who cite egoistic, improvement motivations as their new driving force. They may also see it as a purposeful volunteering activity which brings support to the policing organisation or their communities, such as those who give an altruistic motivation as their reason for remaining a special constable.

11.3 Improvement Focused

Found across the oldest and youngest age ranges, the Improvement Focused special constable is initially motivated by their desires to improve their own skills. Their profile leans slightly older that the Future Probationer, another of the Inexperienced types within the typology, and conversely, tend to be slightly younger than the other Improvement motivated group, the Invested Egoists. From the data gather in this study, they are more likely to maintain this Improvement centred motivation than they are to change the drivers behind their volunteering – and when they do change, there is no clear distinction between which motivation they are more likely to conform to.

Reflecting on the differences between the survey sites may provide further clarity. For the seventeen Scottish Improvement Focused special constables, there is a spilt across those that indicate a shift in their motivations to remain – with two-thirds of the six Improvement Focused type who change their motivation indicating a new desire to become a regular officer, and one third citing Altruistic motivations for their continued volunteering. However, of the five Improvement Focused special constables in the English survey responses, the two who indicate a change in motivation exclusively cite Altruistic Motivations. In fact, only Future Probationers across the English survey responses indicate that their reasons for remaining a special constable are Career Focused. Although these data only illustrate a small number of special constables across the English police service which participated in the survey, this may still represent evidence which highlights an exclusive shift towards Altruistic motivations, and the absence of Career motivations, which remain only in the case of English Future Probationers. There is an environment in the English police service in this study which seems to discourage career orientated motivations from emerging across types that are not initially motivated by a career in policing.

This distinction between the English and Scottish responses, and the lack of career orientated motivations persisting across English survey respondents outside of the Future Probationer may be linked to the training and development structures in place within the English police service which are absent from the Scottish example. The amount of evidence that the English survey respondents in this study are required to produce in order to remain a volunteer

within the Special Constabulary (the process of gathering evidence to satisfy the SOLAP process, discussed in Chapter 8), provides a structured and comprehensive exposure to the realities of police work. A career in policing is a career that is defined by diverse experience, routines, and interactions (Newburn and Reiner, 2007; Wright, 2012), with each day and each shift representing a range of different and unique challenges. Those special constables completing their SOLAP in English study site need to provide evidence that they were competent in dealing with a spectrum of difference scenarios, developing a portfolio of experiences which prepared them for police 'reality'. For the special constables in the English police service who were there to 'test the water', it can have a dual effect on their trajectory within the police organisation. The comprehensiveness of the training either prepares them for a successful application for becoming a regular officer, or they quickly develop an understanding of the policing environment and decide that a career in policing is not for them. Those in the English police service who are still motivated to become regular officers, therefore, may be more likely to become successful within the earlier stages of their volunteering than their Scottish counterparts. The other types in the English police service in this study are less likely to shift their motivations towards a career in policing as they have either made up their mind that the career choice is not for them following this structured exposure to the realities of police work. These findings, again, are based on comparisons drawn from low numbers of survey respondents across the English survey site. However, this may indicate why small percentages of special constables in the Scottish survey indicate persisting or new desires to become regular officers emerging across all types of special constables, and why these desires do not persist or emerge outside of Future Probationer types within the English survey responses.

11.4 Invested Egoists

As with Improvement Focused special constables, the other type initially motivated by an Improvement motivation, Invested Egoists were more likely to represent a range of ages. However, this type represented more special constables who join the Special Constabulary around the age of 30, representing the highest frequency of the oldest joining ages other than the Career Special. This group see the Special Constabulary as a volunteering opportunity in which they can invest long term to improve their skills or satisfy their own personal interests in policing, or law and order. This investment of time does not translate into a shifting motivation towards a career in policing. Even though 50% of Invested Egoists indicated their motivations to

remain a special had shifted away from their original Improvement motivations, 77.8% of those who shift motivation indicate that the shift is towards an Altruistic desire to contribute through their volunteering rather than towards a desire to become a regular officer.

As mentioned in the conclusion of Chapter 10, the temporal element of the typology provides unique insights into the 'journey' of the special constables in this study. It appears that longer service in the Special Constabulary, as is highlighted across the Experienced types, increases the likelihood that the motivation of the special constables to shift towards another motivation. For Still-Specials, this motivational shift is likely towards another egoistic motivation, away from their desire to become a regular officer, and towards a self-improvement focus. This can help explain the relatively younger age profile of the Still-Specials compared against the other Experienced types. Time crystallises their initial motivations, influenced by a career in policing, either because they come to realise the career is not for them, or they have been unsuccessful in their application. Motivations shift, and as younger volunteers, they shift into other egoistic motivation as their journey within police volunteering continues.

This can be contrasted against the Invested Egoists. Time, for this type of special constable, either solidifies their Improvement-orientated motivation, allowing them to continue developing an interest or set of skills which they find useful, or shifts to another motivation. Representing an older volunteer, we know that motivations across more mature individuals are characterised less by personal gain, and more by the individual values and causes which the older volunteer sees as important (Hagar and Brudney, 2008). These older volunteers, it is typically assumed, have fewer commitments and more free time, particularly those more mature volunteers who use volunteering as a form of serious leisure (Stebbins, 1996). As volunteers grow older, the expectations they place on their volunteers shift further from potential opportunities for personal gain, towards a more value orientated expectation, often characterised around the idea of giving back to their community or provide support for organisations Clary and Snyder, 1991; Clary et al, 1998). This provide explanation for this type's shift away from more egoistic motivations, towards more value orientated motivations which do generate expectations of instrumental personal rewards.

The age profiles of the special constable types, when considered against this temporal element of the typology, suggests that each motivationally defined type experiences their

volunteering journey in different ways. As is considered later in this chapter when examining the Career Special, the older the age profile of the volunteer suggests a trend: career motivated specials, over time, shift towards Improvement motivated volunteers, and in time, those Improvement motivated volunteers begin to be motivated by more Altruistic desires. This typology confirms studies, like those by Hagar and Brudney (2008), which provides a relationship between the different functional volunteering motivations and volunteer life course. With the majority of those Invested Egoists who shift motivation now confirming their Altruistic desire to contribute to policing, this journey which emerged from the typology – from career ambition, to personal improvement, to value-based volunteering – illustrates that volunteer/life course relationship.

11.5 The Desired Recruits

This group was named as such to reflect the claims made by special constables in previous chapters (above at pg. 93, also considered by Whittle, 2014) that recruiting more special constables who were initially motivated by a desire to leave volunteering to become a regular officer (Future Probationers and Still-Specials) may represent a threat to the stability of the Special Constabulary. The Desired Recruit is neither motivated by their own desire to leave to become a regular, nor motivated in way that they expect to see measurable or tangible gain as the Improvement motivated types are. The represent a value-orientated special constable, defined by their motivation to give back and support the policing organisation on the basis that they see it as a worthwhile, altruistic activity. They differ from Career Specials in relation to the amount of time that they have been volunteering within the policing organisation.

Volunteering literature highlights that those with altruistic motivations are amongst the longest serving volunteers within volunteering organisations (Omoto and Snyder, 1995; Finklestein, 2011). Representing greater value for money (Whittle, 2014), and arguably a more competent special constable (the arguments made earlier in this chapter, pg. 181), those who join with a desire to contribute and give back, like the Desired Recruit, could be highlighted as a group which police organisations want to recruit as an investment for the future.

However, it is important here to consider the fact that the Desired Recruits still show some signs that their motivations can shift away from the Altruistic, value-based motivation which they indicate prompted their initial joining. For example, 41.7% of the 12 Desired

Recruits identified across both survey sites reported that they shifted their initial motivation to a Career or Improvement reason for remaining. If this type is truly a section of the volunteering population that police organisations want to recruit and keep, then the policing organisation needs to bear in mind that the expectation and motivations of this group may remain malleable. The features of the policing organisation that may appeal to those who are initially motivated by an Altruistic desire may be less effective at promoting the retention of this group if their motivations shift. In the same way as those with Career or Improvement orientated motivations can shift away from those expectations to others when experience or environment present a change in circumstances, those with value-based Altruistic motivations may experience a similar shift when the opportunities to have that value-based motivation satisfied do not present themselves. This is discussed further in the next chapter. However, here it should be mentioned that police organisations should stay receptive to that fact if they do indeed seek to enhance the number of Desired Recruits. They need to ensure that the motivations of this group are managed in a way to maintain that value-based, Altruistic focus, rather than shift to another egoistic desire which the literature aligns with shorter volunteering service (Omoto and Snyder, 1995; Finklestein, 2011).

11.6 Career Specials

Representing the oldest, most experienced volunteers across the different types, these volunteers are more likely to join the Special Constabulary motivated by a desire to give back to the community. They represent value for money and a wealth of experience through their long lengths of service. Their expectations and desires to help the community are not weakened by time in the same way that other motivations across the types are, suggesting that they desire a consistent experience throughout their volunteering lifespan.

They were also more likely than their younger, alternatively motivated counterparts to understand their role in terms of the other commitments they had outside of policing, which seemed to contrast with younger, more idealistic views of those motivated by more egoistic desires for their volunteering. This more pragmatic, or realist, perspective of their role in relation to their other commitments, and the ways that they differentiated themselves in relation to regular officers was perhaps a confirmation that they had adopted similar ways of thinking to regular officers (a paradoxical result of their volunteering discussed in Chapter 7, pg. 118-119).

Those Career Specials who were interviewed were less likely to engage with the symbolic features of the policing organisations, directly contrasting with the Future Probationers. In order to define their role and work with the policing organisation, they drew upon comparisons between volunteering and employment, or between their responsibilities compared to those of the regular officer. This more realistic response could also be indicative of this type of volunteer, and perhaps speaks to the maturity or the life experience that this group have when compared to the more youthful age profiles of types such as the Future Probationer.

Across both study sites, the Career Special represented the group with the highest proportion of special constables who indicated they remained motivated by their original joining motivation. This again speaks to the volunteering literature, and the relationship between strong levels of commitment to volunteering causes and a value-based, altruistic motivation to contribute their volunteering time. The examination of this data, organised into types in such a way, perhaps highlights the reason that the concept of the Career Special already exists in the vernacular of policing organisation (Callender et al, 2018; Hieke, 2018; Whittle, 2014, 2018), and are considered desirable additions to the volunteering landscape within the Special Constabulary. The inherent value-drive motivations associated with the Career Special lend themselves to longer service (Omoto and Snyder, 1995; Finklestein, 2011); policing organisations correlate longer lengths of service and commitment to policing tasks as indicative of a more competent and reliable police officer.

It is worth repeating the comments made in Chapter 10 which relate to the features of the Career Special aligning with the ‘ideal type’, identified from the policing literature. Considering claims made by authors such as Whittle (2018) and Alexander (2000), the attributes of the Career Special were categorised in relation to the sort of volunteer which represents a longer serving volunteer, and subsequently, represents a better value for money for the policing organisations. It is not the intention of this study to make the claim that the Career Special is in any way superior to any of the other types identified in this typology.

The discussion of the Career Special, however, cannot be done without reference to the fact that the defining attributes of this type were aligned with the sort of volunteer which represents economic and logistical benefits which Whittle (2014) has shown to be indicative of a more ‘valuable’ volunteer.

The findings of this thesis also present the case that the attributes of the Career Special appeal culturally embedded perceptions across policing organisations which aligns length of service with competence. If the Career Special represents the longest serving special constable, and if length of service is an indicator of competence and reliability of police officers, then the Career Special also represents a more competent member of the policing organisation than other, less experienced special constables. This perception, it must be argued, are embedded in the police organisation's cultural appreciation of experience as competence, is perhaps not the most accurate measurement of a special constable's ability as a volunteer within the police service. It is hard to argue that the Career Special, as a longer serving member of the policing organisation, does not represent a saving of costs, but how far that should be the measurement of whether a volunteer is desirable, or indeed, 'ideal', fails to appreciate the multiple benefits that the policing organisations may enjoy from having a diverse and varied group of special constables (considered in Chapter 6).

11.7 Conclusion

This typology represents a unique and novel approach to examining the Special Constabulary, in that it draws together two key features of the volunteering experience, length of service and motivation to volunteer, with a consideration of how motivation can change over time. This typology is also unique in that it builds from both qualitative and quantitative data. The profiles developed above are useful tools for the examination and exploration of the Special Constabulary in the future. They allow policing organisations to consider these two key volunteering-orientated themes (which can at times be side lined in literature related to the management of special constables for other, policing-specific considerations), but also illustrate that there exists a temporal element to the experiences of special constables within policing. Exposure, training, and development of special constables shapes their understanding of their volunteering contribution and sets in motion shifts in both their own expectations, and in their motivations, which have driven their perception of their value and worth.

Given the limitations of the data collected in this thesis, a more comparative exploration of how the typology was represented in both survey sites was not achievable. The comparative examination of the typology that is considered above is as far as could be achieved given the stark differences in amount of data received from each survey site. Police forces in different parts

of the United Kingdom differ in historical, social, political, and geographical contexts. Therefore, the experiences of police officers in these different police forces will vary. Additionally, particular structures and organisational features of police work are not mirrored in all police forces; with different operational priorities, resource allocation and management styles diffused across the country. These unique geographies of policing (Fyfe, 1991; Yarwood, 2007) set the social constructed boundaries within which the experiences of police officers are generated; boundaries defined by a police force's social history and the substantive processes by which the work they do is prioritised and carried out. Future research into the role and experiences of the Special Constabulary should be aware that the features of the policing organisation, and the structures and frameworks which surround the special constable. These local features of policing organisations are vitally important in shaping the special constable's experiences and their own perceptions of their role and worth. Using this typology as a tool through which that comparative analysis could be carried out can enhance this understanding of how different special constables interact with, and are influenced by, the different organisational features of policing.

This typology will hopefully be utilised and tested in these different policing contexts. If nothing else, the organisation of volunteers based on the core *volunteering* features of their experience places the nature of the special constable as a volunteer first, rather than focusing on their position as a policing resource within the large organisation. This typology presents a range of different characters which have their own inherent benefits. It will only be through examining them in relation to their volunteering experience – including their exposure to the policing environment, their length of service and the volunteering motivations – rather than relying on measures of quantitative gain to policing organisations that these additional benefits will be identified. The construction of the typology allows for further reflection on these volunteering motivations in a structured way.

The next chapter draws together these thoughts and reflections, along with the findings from the previous chapters and the survey, to consider how these findings could be used to enhance the experience of special constables within policing across the United Kingdom. Firstly, it considers the importance of the comparative elements of this study, and the ways in which these elements have contributed to the wider literature on police volunteering across the United

Kingdom. Then, it considers the unique reflections in this thesis which place the volunteer special constable into the context of the cultural elements of police work. The nature of the special constable as a unique character within the wider volunteering field is discussed, and the case that they exist as a unique case study for better exploring the nature volunteering is considered Finally, it considers the findings which policing organisations might take from this thesis to enhance the experience of their volunteers and improve their management of the Special Constabulary.

Chapter 12: Discussion

This chapter explores the major findings of this thesis. Firstly, it considers the comparative nature of the thesis, reflecting on the structural features of independence and rank, as introduced in Chapter 8, and the role that these structural features play in shaping the special constable's experience, and perception of the role that they play within the wider policing organisation. Then it reflects on the findings presented in Chapter 9, which considers the special constable as part of a unique and distinct policing culture within the policing environment. The benefits of using the Special Constabulary as a unique case study for exploring features of volunteering are considered, and then, this chapter concludes by considering ways in which the volunteering experiences of special constables can be enhanced by reflecting on the findings which this thesis has explored.

12.1 The English/Scottish Comparison

This study's comparative focus revealed specific features about volunteer experience relative to the organisational context they volunteered within. Most notably, the differences in legal and structural features of policing in both observed policing organisations provided deeper insights into the nature of these features' impact on the role of special constables. This section reflects on the ways in which special constables come to understand the role that they play within policing through their interaction with these organisational features. Specifically, it considers how these features contribute to the independence and freedom that special constables experience on shift, and the impact of those experiences of the volunteer's understanding of their position within policing.

Authors have considered the inherent difficulties with international comparative research in the field of policing, and the often incompatible nature of the data collected from multiple policing contexts; this data can be subject to national and local conventions, and contextual differences in policy and practice that can render comparative reflections complex (Jones and Newburn, 2006). The Special Constabulary, however, is a shared feature of both English and Scottish policing, and special constables are understood as playing similar roles within those policing organisations in both countries, as commented on in Chapter 2. Whereas their definition in both study sites amounted to the same thing – warranted, part-time, voluntary police officers –

this study has highlighted that there are fundamental differences in their experiences which are framed in the national and local contexts of police work. The qualitative data collected in this study has allowed for an exploration of the different features of the policing environment which impact on special constables through a comparative lens across both study sites. By representing a shared figure or actor within both Scottish and English sites, examination of the special constable has allowed for the exploration of the qualitative data across these different policing contexts, which are culturally complex, are managed and structured in different ways, and are both bound by different types of legal rules and geographical variance. The comparative nature of this study has yielded important data about the nature of police volunteering by drawing out the ways in which the features of policing organisations impact differently on a group of individuals which share a number of commonalities.

The comparative nature of the research did not come without its difficulties. Having multiple policing organisations as the study's focus also means having to manage multiple cohorts of potential participants within this study. As this study has shown, comparative research of this kind is possible, and gathering data from a wider range of comparable organisational contexts could enhance future research of this kind. This study has managed to illustrate the ways that policing organisations play a part in contextualising the role and identity of special constables, and allowed reflection on the ways that those special constables - with shared characteristics in both study sites defined by the typology - are impacted by the different organisational features of the policing organisations in which they volunteer.

Across the study sites, the theme of independence was a concept which underpinned many of the thoughts and experiences of the special constables. Independence, in this case, refers to a special constable's ability to operate without the direct oversight or supervision of regular officer, or another more experienced special constable (Chapter 8). This study's comparative nature has allowed for a deeper exploration of this concept in relation to wider policing context. Authors have explored the concept of independence and autonomy, and its impact on police officer experience, in the past (Zhao et al, 1999). Early attempts to correlate police officer satisfaction with work environment placed emphasis on the importance of the officer's personal responsibility and autonomy. As such, a policing environment which provides opportunity for police officers to work independently, and which emphasises officer's ability direct their own

tasks, contribute to higher levels of satisfaction. The concept of meaningfulness also emerged within this study's findings; Chapters 6, 8 and 9 each consider how special constables assign value to their volunteering experiences through a combination of their own motivations, expectations, and opportunities to perform specific roles within the policing organisation, respectively. Exploring how that meaningfulness was tied together with feelings of independence and autonomy provides further insights about this aspect of police work environment.

In Scotland, it was the case that the evidential rule of corroboration-imposed restrictions on the opportunities special constables had to operate independently and autonomously. As such, it was the exception rather than the rule that special constables worked without the oversight of regular officers in the Scottish study site (the exception to the status quo is discussed in Chapter 8). Simply put, it means that Scottish specials constables are more likely to be paired with a regular officer, rather than paired with another special or on a patrol on their own. In England, although a special can be paired with a regular officer, there is no such limitation placed on them whilst on duty so long as the special constable they has achieved a level of training that classifies them as independent. Even without completing this training, there is still scope for a special constable to be paired up with another volunteer who has completed that training; as such, there exists a scenario where special constables within the English study site could operate completely independently of the other regular officers on shift. Whereas Zhao et al (1999) placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of autonomy for regular constables, the findings presented in Chapters 6 and Chapter 9 suggest that worth and meaning, for the special constable in both observed study sites, flows from their understanding of their role as a source of policing support. As this study has shown, meaningful action organised around public interaction, or community orientated styles of policing, may appear less exciting to members of the policing organisation than blue light, 'proper' policing tasks (Manning, 1977; discussed in Chapter 9). For special constables, the understanding that any task can have an impact on the capacity of the policing organisation to deal with more tasks on any given shift has placed a great deal of emphasise on their role as a supporting actor within the policing organisations. This perception of what activity amounts to valuable or meaningful action has made more mundane activities feel more worthwhile. As addressed in Chapter 8, corroboration, and the limitations that it places on Scottish specials' independence, does not diminish feelings of worth across special constables. Whereas regulars perhaps draw meaning by demonstrating their autonomy, special constables

were more likely to draw meaning from demonstrating their willingness to do whatever needs to be done, regardless of whether it is a 'proper' or 'bullshit' (van Maanen, 1975) activity. Corroboration places limitations on the Scottish special constable's autonomy, and as such, the special constables in this group have little regard to the concept of autonomy or independence when they are asked to reflect on their role within the policing organisation. This was not the case in England, where independence existed as a defined attribute which was sought after by special constables completing their training. Whereas English special constables found the idea that Scottish specials did not work towards autonomy and independence unusual and foreign, they still understood that providing support, in whatever form, carried enough meaning to amount to worthwhile or valuable contribution in the same way that their Scottish counterparts did. The English volunteers' lack of enthusiasm for the limitations that corroboration placed on their Scottish counterparts, did not seem to flow from the belief that the Scottish special constable could not perform meaningful work. Rather, it was a perception borne out of a contextualised understanding of how their volunteering was organised and managed, and the expectations which were placed on them because of those organisational feature, which caused this negative reaction to the idea that there did not exist independent special constables in Scotland. Independence was a core feature of the English special constable's journey within the police organisation. It was part of what they had come to understand a special constable to be. In Scotland, independence and autonomy of special constables is an attractive idea, but one rejected when viewed through the lens of the imposed evidential obligations on police officers within that policing environment. This attraction is enhance through this study's reflection on the experience of the two special constables in Scotland that were given a degree of autonomy, and commonly worked together on shift without the supervision of a regular officer (Chapter 8). Their understanding that being able to work independently enhanced their opportunities to free up more time for regular officers, shows that autonomy and independence can enhance the feelings of worth, and these special constables believe they are contributing in a more valuable way to the policing organisation. Zhao et al's (1999) understanding of the relationship between autonomy and satisfaction holds true for these volunteers, but it is the direct impact that autonomy and independence has on their ability to provide support that generates that satisfaction. The more autonomous a special constable is, the less a regular constable needs to do to make sure they are

doing their job correctly, and the more time they have to get on with whatever needs to be done elsewhere.

For the English participants, independence is synonymous with competence; it is a title and status which confirms that they have enough skill to perform their duties without any direct oversight. Perhaps, therefore, the English special constables in the study they found the notion of corroboration so difficult to synthesis with their own understanding of the role that the special constable plays in the police organisation. This is also compounded by the fact that training in police volunteering is strongly linked to the satisfaction of special constables. Britton and Callender (2017) explain that positive experiences of training are linked to higher rates of satisfaction across English special constables, building positive experiences for these volunteers. These authors emphasise the special constables who are denied opportunities to increase their training and learn new skills are often more unsatisfied with their experience than others. This implies that increasing competency and improving skills is intrinsically linked to the positive experiences of special constables within the English study site. If independent status is synonymous with competency, then volunteers can derive satisfaction from the understanding that they are progressing towards achieving independence/competency through the availability of structured training and observable progression within their role.

Waddington (1999) and, earlier, Bittner (1970), have shown that practices and tasks seen as ‘meaningless’ are those tasks which are not perceived to further the ideological purposes shared across the policing organisation. In these author’s reflections, crime-fighting and confrontation underpinned this contemporary policing ethos, and as such, tasks which did not conform to that masculine ethos were considered less meaningful. This speaks to the findings in in Chapter 9 which suggest that the emphasise placed on reactionary, exciting police work is as consequence of the values of the enduring policing culture (Loftus, 2009; Manning, 1977). Attaching value and meaning to tasks which correlate to the ethos or dominant ideological paradigm of an organisation has some basis within ethnomethodological theory (Pollner and Goode, 1990). In a policing sense, should the ethos of police work still be opposed to bureaucratic and non-confrontational tasks (Loftus, 2009; Waddington, 1999) then these tasks have less meaning, and have less importance for these special constables. In the case of special constables, this study has found that special constables still generate a great deal of worth in

carrying out these sorts of mundane activities (see Chapter 9, and discussion of 'standing on a point' or delivering citations), secure in the knowledge that their contribution provides support to the police service. The worth and meaning attached to policing tasks, for special constables, is derived from the consequence of their participation in the policing organisation, not the nature or content of the task which they perform. As Stebbins (1996) explains, volunteer identity and role is deeply linked to instrumental nature of volunteering, and the way that the outcomes volunteer's contributions – rather than the actual quality of the tasks performed in order to contribute - often dictates the value of that contribution. In England, the reality that special constable can be more autonomous than their Scottish counterparts does not alter this perception – English special constables in this study still found a great deal of meaning in the 'bullshit' (van Maanen, 1975) – but simply presents them with more opportunities to perform meaningful activities given their ability to 'free up' the time of regular police officers through not requiring to be 'double-crewed' or demanding supervision.

This thesis, from its comparative perspective, has provided evidence that shows the experiences of special constables, and the value they place on their own role within the policing, is directly impacted by the level of autonomy and independence afforded to them by the policing organisation. In both study sites, independence was a concept which was linked to the idea of support, which had a direct impact on special constables' feelings of meaningful contribution. The way that this support emerges in both study sites was slightly different, highlighting that worth and meaning which can be derived from their volunteering, for special constables, is linked directly to the context of the policing organisation in which they work. As Loftus (2009) reminds us, these individual perceptions of actor within the policing environment are just as important as actions in determining the existence of distinct, shared values within the policing organisational context.

Chapter 8 considered the impact that rank and hierarchy as a structural feature of policing impact has on the experience of special constables. King (2003, 2005) draws attention to the different types of hierarchies that operate formal organisational contexts. King's reflections on these rank structures within formal organisations, like the police, highlight that although rank structures may appear similar in form and name, the way in which power is allocated within that rank structure is not always uniform. The rank structure of observed English Special

Constabulary followed much the same vertical shape of the authority hierarchy found in the regular police service (King, 2003). Volunteers who held rank within the Special Constabulary understood and experienced power in different ways than their regular counterparts. Whereas a regular sergeant had oversight for a number of regular constables in the day to day operation of their duties, and had a degree of operational authority over the sort of tasks that the regular could, and should, engage with, a special sergeant performed a much more administrative function in the exercise of their duties. In some cases, ranking special constables would be participating in a shift where there were no other special constables present, and even when there were subordinate volunteers on shift, there were few observed examples of a special sergeant directly commanding special constables. In most cases, the tasks that they were to be involved in were dictated by a regular sergeant, or in some case, a regular constable. This feature – that ranking specials were in effect subordinate to regular constables – did make the rank features of the Special Constabulary in England feel less formal and more symbolic, and more like a status hierarchy operating within the policing organisation (King, 2005; Anderson and Willer, 2014).

A status hierarchy, rather than an authority hierarchy, as defined by King (2013), suggests that there are recognised signs and symbols that allow actors to position themselves relative to other individuals within a given setting. Special sergeants, as discussed in Chapter 8, may not have any functional or operational oversight for their regular counterparts, but they did command a level of respect from their peers amongst the regular ranks. Amongst the other volunteers, there was some examples of operational authority being vested in higher ranking officers – the regional event staffed completely by specials in the English study site mentioned in Chapter 8 is an example of this - but largely, the rank structure in the English study site was more administrative than it was an indication of their authority whilst on duty. Ranking volunteers were involved with the training of other volunteers, arranging shifts, and setting up meetings, and in some case, disciplinary matters. Actual operational authority, however, was limited to a handful of specific settings, mainly focused on the policing of events.

The rank structure within the Special Constabulary may have some negative consequences, which were raised by some special constables within the Scottish study site. When specials in Scotland were asked to reflect on the rank structure in England, some questioned whether its purpose was to create a clear division between regular constables and

special constables. In Scotland, where administrative function is placed in the hands of regular community sergeants, some specials interpreted a rank structure as a threat to their integration with regular officers; creating a division between regular and special constables defined by a clear hierarchy. It seems that the success of the rank structure rests on the perception of the volunteers who are to be organised within it. The ideological understanding that is apparent across both study sites means that rank is understood very differently across both groups of volunteers. Perhaps the relationship that the two groups of special constables have with independence and autonomy plays a role in shaping this understanding. In England, the rank structure provides the Special Constabulary with further means to delineate control over their volunteering from the need to have regular oversight and enhances their feelings of freedom and autonomy to which they have attached importance. In Scotland, having administrative function directly tied to a regular sergeant means that their shifts and duties are organised alongside the needs and requirements of their regular counterparts, and as such, their contribution can be organised in such a way as to ensure that they are volunteering in way to maximise the amount of support they can provide.

In 2006, the Scottish Government published proposals for the inclusion of a rank structure across the pre-centralised police services in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2006). This, however, did not come to fruition, and after the formation of Police Scotland in 2012, it is still the administrative responsibility of warranted regular officers to deal with the organisational features of the volunteers. The role and experiences of special constables in England and Scotland is differentiated not by the role that special constables are defined as playing by the policing organisation, but rather by the perceived meaning that special constables have derived from the structural and organisation features of policing. When taken along with independence and autonomy as a feature of these volunteers' experiences, this thesis provides a strong evidential basis which shows that volunteer role and identity of special constables is formed within the context of the structural features that surround them within the policing environment.

12.2 Placing Volunteers within the Policing Culture

Police culture research emerged as a means to understand the values of police officers, and the ways that police officers interacted with the policing environment (Westmarland, 2008), and in a similar vein, this thesis explores the sociological interaction that may provide an

understanding as to how the attitudes of special constables interact with their understanding of the role they play within the policing organisation. The working typology constructed in Chapter 10 draws attention to the nuances surrounding volunteers' position within the police organisations. Considering the sense of mission identified as an enduring feature of police culture (considered in Chapter 9), Future Probationers were more likely to share in the attitude they played morally correct roles in their campaign against criminality. However, other types of special constables, representing differently motivated and more experienced volunteers, were less likely to demonstrate those attitudes. Future Probationers have constructed an identity that is more linked to the role identity shared between police officers, and as such, are more likely to identify with cultural artefacts that police officers experience than other volunteers who are motivated different. This is an important finding. It confirms the argument that police culture is a non-monolithic construct (Reiner, 2010; Paoline 2017), and that different members of the policing organisation can experience culture differently from others within the organisation. These claims have been made in relation to police officers who occupy different positions of authority within the hierarchical and disciplined structure of the police organisations (Reuss-Ianni, 2011), however, in this study, it is the motivation of the volunteer, and how that motivation contributes to their subscription to different values, which governs the relationship between volunteers and the cultural artefacts of the policing organisation. Whereas authors have highlighted the role played by various characteristics on the development of culture within the policing context (Reiner, 2017; Westmarland, 2008), this thesis puts forward the case that the individual's motives, and the expectations they generate, play a core role in shaping an occupational culture to which these volunteers subscribe. This could further suggest that the functional motivations, such as a desire for promotion, or to work with particular departments within policing, could play a role in shaping how individual police officers – volunteer or regular – align their values with these motivations, and in turn, how they may interact with the cultures which they construct and subscribe to.

The Future Probationer, motivated by their goal of becoming part of the regular police, and in turn, the regular police culture, perceive themselves in a role that is more sensitive to the values and attitudes shared amongst their regular counterparts. The Career Special as defined by this study's typology, finds it more difficult to separate their volunteer role from their policing role, as evidenced in Chapter 7 by the more mature, value-orientated special constables

demonstrating a more realistic role identity relative to their employment outside of police volunteering . As such, they do not subscribe to this culture as readily as those specials motivated by their future policing career. This was further emphasised, in Chapter 9, by the examples of how Future Probationers and Career Specials used language and storytelling as a means of proving they are one of the policing team. Volunteers' motivations shape the role identity of these volunteers, impact on the sort of policing tasks they find important and how they align their values, behaviour and attitudes when interacting with the policing environment and other actors within it.

Managing special constables based on motivation, therefore, is not just a way to ensure that they have a more meaningful experiences based on the sort of tasks they find important, but also contributes towards the construction of an environment that is sensitive to the shared values and attitudes of the different types of special constable. This is discussed later in this chapter in relation to how these findings might be considered by policing organisations to improve special constable experience.

12.3 The Special Constable as a case-study for Volunteering

Motivation was a core theme, prevalent in many of the discussions currently taking place in field of police volunteering (Whittle, 2014; Pepper, 2014; Bullock and Leeney, 2016; Hieke, 2018). Motivation to volunteer and volunteer satisfaction are intrinsically linked (Thompson and Bono, 1993; Clary et al, 1996; Clary et al, 1998), and it is through good volunteer management, which seeks to enhance opportunities for volunteer's desire to become manifest, that volunteer retention, experience and recruitment can be improved. This literature has highlighted that managing volunteers through paying particular attention to their own motivations to volunteer is tied to the success of volunteering initiatives, exploring motivation in the context of the special constables was important. With motivation being a clear indicator of length of service, as evidenced by the example of the Career Special in this study's typology (Chapter 10), and the 'career' special within the wider literature (Alexander, 2000; Pepper, 2014; Whittle, 2014; Ramshaw and Cosgrove, 2019), these findings provide a strong basis to conclude that understanding individual motivations to volunteer can provide policing organisations with greater insight into volunteering experience.

Motivation to volunteer cannot always be reduced to one particular motivation (Clary et al, 1992; Hieke, 2018), and is often a combination of multiple motivations which exist in conjunction with one another. Hieke (ibid) has considered the role of motivation, and the blurred lines that motivation presents as a means of categorisation, within the context of the Special Constabulary. By defining types of special constable along the lines of motivation and by not considering the way that individual's experience different sorts of motivations, there may be more nuance to the motivation of Career Special type - and, indeed, all of the types construct in this study's typology - than simply seeking out the absence of a motivation to join the regulars. This was an important consideration in the construction of this study's typology, detailed in Chapter 10. Although the respondents to the survey were categorised based on their single most prevalent joining motivation, the temporal element of the typology allowed for exploration of how motivations change. This point acknowledged Hieke's assertion that multiple motivations impact upon special constable's experiences, considering how those motivations may be superseded by other motivation as they become prevalent in the special constables volunteering journey.

Further still, as Mirrlees-Black and Byron (1994) acknowledge, a shared motivation between special constables may appear in different forms, or be felt more greatly, based on the geographical environment where that volunteering takes place; in the same way that policing tasks may look very different in an urban centre than in a remote rural settings (Yarwood, 2007; Wooff, 2016). The findings presented in Chapter 7 show how similar motivations across volunteers do not always amount to similar experiences of, or perceptions of, the roles that these volunteers play; a particular example of this is found in Chapter 7, and the different experiences of Future Probationers in Scotland and England in relation to how they understand the symbolic features of policing organisation. Whereas motivation to volunteer is useful in helping to determine the nature of the experiences that special constable seek at the outset of their volunteering, understanding that volunteering motivation can be a complex amalgamation of different motivations, which are interpreted and shifted depending on volunteer's experience of the environment they engage with, is a crucial for the future perception of volunteers in policing.

Public Service Motivation (Perry and Wise, 1990), or PSM, is defined as 'predisposition to respond to motivates grounded primarily… in public institutions and organisations' (ibid:

368). PSM has been expanded by other authors (Clerkin et al, 2008, Rainey and Steinbauer, 1999) as a means to help define and explore motivations, which amounts to a 'general, altruistic motivation to serve the interests of a community of people, a state, a nation, or humankind' (ibid: 20). Exploring other models of motivation across the Special Constabulary, like PSM, could help to characterise the types within this typology further, and could expand discussion around the expectations and values that volunteers understand as important. Whereas the core functional motivations – identified by Clary and Snyder (1999) and used in this study to explore motivation – are useful to determine how volunteers understand the outcomes of their volunteering, public sector volunteers are known to be motivated differently from their private sector counterparts (Perry and Wise, 1990; Houston, 2000; Houston, 2005), and there may be scope to reconsider the ways in which motivations across the Special Constabulary could be measured. If it holds true that motivation can be constructed and perceived differently by different types of volunteers (Wilson, 2000), then future research into the motivations of this particular group of volunteers should play close attention to the psychological, functional and social factors which play a role in the construction of their motivations. This can provide more clarity about the ways in which different types of special constable make sense of their role and has benefits in relation to the management of special constables.

The literature on volunteer identity is based in interactionist theories of role identity (Grube and Piliavin, 2000), which draw upon the nature of individual's interaction within a society or organisation, and the role that they construct to navigate those interactions. The role constructed by volunteers, and the strength of their adherence to that constructed role, provides a strong indicator of the investment that volunteers contribute to their given cause, and is a general predictor of volunteer's desires contribute to that cause (Lee et al, 1999). For this study, it is important to consider the delineation between a general volunteering identity, and a specific volunteer identity that is constructed within a particular organisational context (Grube and Piliavin, 2000). General volunteering identity can only be ascertained by considering individuals that volunteer in more than one sort of volunteering activity or can be extrapolated by considering the interconnectedness of values and behaviours across different groups of various types of volunteers. Based on data in this study, however, by only focusing on one type of volunteering activity, the Special Constabulary represents a *specific* role identity across the respondents. Following Grube and Piliavin (ibid), an individual's adherence to a strong, specific,

volunteer role identity within organisations is closely linked to the how important the volunteer perceives their role and work within the given organisation, and how closely the values of the volunteers align with values shared within the organisation. The way in which volunteers identify meaning in the work that they do is a core factor in establishing a sense of organisational commitment; that commitment plays an important role in the identity development of volunteers within the organisations they volunteer within (Buchanan, 1974; Grube and Piliavin, 2000). When individual volunteers understand their role as being important within the context of the organisation they volunteer for, then there is more chance that they will find value in their actions and feel as though their contributions as volunteers are more important (ibid). The importance placed on the inclusion within the policing organisation is a difficult concept to measure. There are subjective reasons given by the special constables themselves (these are explored in Chapter 6) however, it is crucial to remember that, whilst special constables can, and do, provide additional benefits to policing organisations, they are not fundamentally necessary for the function of policing across the UK. They make policing better. They are not responsible for making policing happen. In other volunteering organisations, the presence of volunteers might be an actual necessity to ensure that the services of those organisations can be provided. The Royal National Lifeboat Institution website, for example, reports that 95% of their registered members are volunteers. Without volunteers, it could not operate anywhere near to the capacity that it could by only relying on its paid and employed members. Although policing operates within the public sphere, funding for their services does not rely on fundraising efforts; policing is state-centric, government funded service, which places an expectation that the public's needs for safety and security does not depend on the input of volunteers. Whereas the importance of the volunteers' contribution in non-profit or charitable organisations is derived from the fact they ensure those organisation can operate (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Shawver and Nickels, 1981) and the 'worth' of the special constables contribution – as an non-essential element for the function of policing - must be derived from another source.

Traditional means of evaluating the worth or importance of volunteering within an organisation, as mentioned above, is done through economic measurement (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991). This, however, for the special constables in this study, amount to an insufficient means to gauge their actual contribution, as the findings in Chapter 6 confirm. The various skills and experiences they bring - including the volunteer's local knowledge and their

willingness to help those within their communities - were cited as benefits that they believed were important, or at least should be considered, when defining the role and function of the special constable within policing organisations. As Hieke (2018), and the findings in Chapter 6, reminds us, the value of the special constable should be viewed in light of these important, non-economic features of their contribution, and they should be considered as just as, if not more, important that economic measurements of their inclusion in the policing organisation.

Grube and Piliavin (2000) also highlight the importance of shared values between volunteers and the volunteering organisation in the construction of a shared identity. Foreman and Whetten (2002) highlight the relationship between the shared values of organisations and the feelings of legitimacy which members of that organisation experience in relation to the role that they play. In volunteering, there is little to suggest that there is an overarching shared culture or set of norms and values that permeates across *all* volunteers as a homogenous group. One may argue that the unpaid nature of volunteering suggests that altruism, or a desire to give back to society at large, could be a shared value across all volunteers, and indeed, traditional and economic explanations of volunteering rely on the altruism within the definitions they have constructed (Wilson, 2000; Musick and Wilson, 2008). However, as the findings in Chapter 7 have suggested, altruistic values are not necessarily experienced or expressed to the same extent by all volunteers within the same or similar organisations. Whereas value or value-expression has been used in the past to help characterise motivations shared across volunteers (Clary any Synder1999; Wilson, 2000; Dekker and Halman, 2003), these perspectives cannot assume that the values and experiences of similarly motivated volunteers are necessarily shared.

To illustrate this example, consider two individuals, motivated by giving back to their community, who volunteer for a charity that provides care for those suffering from AIDS. One may be motivated by their values of altruism, their desire to give back to society and helping those in need; the other may be volunteering motivated by values of solidarity, perhaps seeing themselves as part the group most effected by AIDS or its impacts, or sharing a number of characteristics/relationships with them. The motivations for their participation in the charity work is functionally the same – ‘value’ based motivations - but the importance, and subsequent role identity they construct for themselves as a member of that charity is contextualised by

different levels of meaning they associate to their volunteering work, and their relationship with the organisation and cause.

Reflecting on this study's typology might provide more clarity. Firstly, when considering shared values, Future Probationers are more likely to adhere to the values shared across the policing organisation than Career Specials were. As considered in the findings of Chapter 7 and Chapter 9, this would imply that the role identity that both of these types of special constables construct will be experienced to different degrees, with the Future Probationer more likely to find themselves constructing a role identity that is closer to the police officer identity given their readiness to accept and reflect the values associated with policing. The context of their volunteering – that they desire to eventually become regular police officers - places them in a position where not only are they slowly being exposed to the values shared across the policing organisation and becoming part of a culture that shares in those values, but they are actively seeking to learn more about that culture to eventually become a member of that organisation. Their desire to integrate into the policing culture encourages them to share in the values of the policing organisation, and as such, the role that they construct for themselves and perceive themselves as playing is strongly tied to the identity of the regular officers they work alongside. This helps to explain the findings in Chapter 6 and 7, which suggest that Career Specials are more likely to draw on experiences from outside of policing, such as their employment, to better understand the role and function that they play within the policing organisation, relative to Future Probationers. The identity that they have constructed is not based on a motivation to eventually become a regular officer, so even though their values may be aligned with their regular counterparts, they are more likely to describe their role and identity in terms of their status as a volunteer; highlighting the differences between their volunteering and their employment, for example. These findings confirm the claims made by Grube and Piliavin (2000) that role identity is strongly developed in individuals that display high levels of commitment to their organisation. Future Probationers, motivated by a desire to become regular officers, are inherently committed to the policing organisation, and its value, through the virtue of it as a potential employer. Their commitment to their volunteering flows from their desire to become part of it, whereas the commitment of the Career Special flows from their desire to give back to the policing organisation or improve their own communities. Motivation intrinsically shapes what individuals consider to be important (Clary et al, 1998; Wilson, 2000), and due to the

nature of volunteering as an instrumental activity (Stebbins, 1996), volunteers will apply importance to the outcomes of their volunteer contributions. Motivations determine value, and in many cases, the decision to volunteer is physical expression of the values that the volunteer. The role that special constables construct is done so in relation of their own desires and motivations, which shape what they understand as important to themselves, and situate that importance in the context the policing organisation.

This study has provided insights into the ways that motivation is not only central to understanding special constable type but is also intrinsically related to the way that the volunteers perceive themselves within the policing organisation. Not only does this provide important insights into the impact of motivation of special constable experience, and into the nature of the special constables themselves as a volunteer police officer but has further implications for the management of special constables, considered below.

12.4 Enhancing Special Constables' Experience: Managing by Motivation

There is a national trend across the United Kingdom that shows the number of special constables is falling (College of Policing, 2017). With Future Probationers motivated, primarily, to leave their volunteering role in pursuit of paid work within the organisation then there is a fear that the recruitment process for the Special Constabulary across the UK amounts to a revolving door. As longer serving special constables, including Career Specials, begin to retire from their volunteering, there is a fear that the policing organisation will struggle to replace them. With volunteers who express a desire to join the Special Constabulary based on community-orientated motivation representing the longest serving special constables, as the findings of this study presented in Chapter 10, and Whittle (2014), suggest, then seeking a strategy to improve recruitment and retention of those Desired Recruit and Career Special types could provide a means to reduce the concern associated with dwindling volunteer numbers.

Increasing volunteer recruitment is not a straightforward process (Marx 1999). Firstly, the nature of the work that the organisation involves itself with has an impact on the frequency of volunteers that enter that volunteering activity. Where the beneficiaries of volunteering are in a position to have their lives improved through the individuals volunteering, then there is more of a willingness to get involved in that volunteering activity; volunteering organisations that benefit those with chronic or terminal illnesses and provide direct, palliative or medical care have an

easier time recruiting volunteers than those who do not (Leviton et al, 2006). Additionally, where the beneficiaries of the volunteering exhibit difficult or immoral behaviours – such as criminality – or where there is a stigma attached to the beneficiary's actions – such as drug use or other deviant behaviours - then there are more apprehensions amongst potential volunteers about devoting time to those causes rather than other, less controversial causes (Marx, 1999).

Future probationers, motivated by a direct desire to become part of that crime centric work in the form of regular employment, would not be dissuaded by idea of volunteering to become part of an organisation that regularly deals with this sort dangerous, stigmatised or controversial subject matter. More so, some Future Probationers, in an attempt to make up their minds about potential career choices, might want to use the exposure to these more controversial scenarios to test the water (Bullock, 2015), to better inform their choices about their future career. It would make sense that Future Probationers are easier to find and recruit than Career Specials. On the other hand, those volunteers who are not motivated by a desire to join the policing organisation as a career, or are not using their volunteering to 'test the water' may be dissuaded from becoming a special constable as a volunteering option due to the potential interaction with difficult or stigmatised individuals.

Recently, in Scotland, there have been changes to the terms of employment of non-warranted members of police staff, which entitles them to a prescribed number of hours of leave from their employment to contribute their time to the Special Constabulary. Targeting audiences who are already working within controversial environments circumvents the potential difficulties in persuading new recruits suggested by Leviton et al (2006). Employer Supported Policing (ESP) is an initiative, utilised in that both study sites, which encourages employers to adopt similar entitlements to leave from work to volunteer their time as a special constable. If employers within other criminal justice organisations – court system, prisons service, etc. – could be persuaded to adopt ESP initiatives, then this additional time off work to volunteer may attract more volunteers who are already invested and involved in this sort of working environment. By targeting these particular groups of potential recruits, not only might they minimise the likelihood prospective volunteers would they will find this sort of volunteering environment challenging, but there is less chance of those volunteers being Future Probationers and ultimately seeking to leave the Special Constabulary to become a regular officer given that those volunteers

would already be established in other careers, and may be less motivated to volunteer based on the prospect of becoming a regular officer. Recruitment from these groups through ESP may find resistance in the form of these workers being dissuaded by the working environment for different reasons than Marx (1999) suggests. Rather than being turned off of police volunteering due to the stigmatised subject matter of the volunteering, it might be that the working environment is too close to home – not resembling enough of a variety for these volunteers and not living up the functional protective motivations (Clary et al, 1998) or escapist motivations (Clary and Snyder, 1991) which may motivate some individuals to volunteer in the first place ESP's success in this area may face mixed results. Importantly, though, this difficulty could be ameliorated through marketing the deep variety of tasks that special constables are able to become involved in.

Recruitment of volunteers is also directly dependent on the ways in which volunteers' approach that volunteering at different stages of their life course, and the motivations that are inherently part of that. Hagar and Brudney (2008) have highlighted that non-profit volunteering organisation often have a harder time attracting younger volunteers particularly because younger people are more likely to spend their time enhancing skills that make them more employable and seeking out activities that enhance their employability. In policing, however, with the Special Constabulary representing perhaps the best way not only to test the water, but to enhance their attractiveness to the police as a potential employer, then this form of volunteering does not suffer from this issue. By directly appealing to the motivations of this group of volunteers – which is not necessarily a conscious choice – the Special Constabulary is a more attractive volunteering option for younger people who are considering a career in policing. Functional benefits of volunteering, defined relative to the motivations of the volunteer, have a direct impact on volunteer recruitment (Clary and Snyder, 1999). The attractiveness of a particular form of volunteering is nested in the expected outcomes of that volunteering. For Future Probationers, who are gaining first-hand experiences of doing policing, which translate to a specific benefit in terms of employability. For Career Specials or Desired Recruits, motivated by the opportunity to express their values, framing the Special Constabulary as an opportunity to be involved in policing might not be enough to persuade them to join based on their functional motivation. This study's findings show that Career Specials want to give back to their community, either through enhancing policing through their contribution and allowing the police organisation to achieve more, or through feeling directly linked to the communities that they were dealing with and

feeling as though they were making an impact. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, the Special Constabulary is marketed along the lines of the Peelian principles 'the police are the public, the public are the police'. In Chapter 6, this study has provided evidence that opportunities for special constables often focus on tasks that do may not always align with the contemporary understanding of community or local policing (Bowling and Foster, 2002; Yarwood, 2007). Authors have shown that engaging in a variety of different tasks enhance volunteers' feelings of worth, and through making the volunteering activity more varied can increase recruitment (Heidrich, 1990). Marketing the Special Constabulary as a varied experience, where volunteers are given higher degrees of independence, would create a more attractive volunteering opportunity where the values of individual volunteers could be expressed more freely, and the impact of their volunteering could be perceived as being more worthwhile. As is considered earlier in this chapter, and in Chapter 8, the capacity to market the Special Constabulary as a place where volunteers experience independence or autonomy may not be as appropriate as strategy in Scotland as it would be in England give the nature of special constable's autonomy and the limitations which are placed on volunteer's ability to work without regular officer oversight.

Within the context of Scotland, enhancing the limited opportunities that the special constables have to demonstrate independence and autonomy could also enhance the attractiveness of the Special Constabulary to those volunteers motivated by other, more value-oriented, motivations. What might Police Scotland learn from the English models of police volunteering with respect to enhancing an independent volunteering environment? Certain features of the English model which enhance feelings of independence amongst volunteers are not directly translated north of the border. Independent patrol, for example, is characterised by the fact that special constables can patrol on their own without the input of regular officers or other special constables when appropriate. Police Scotland could employ the SOLAP style of gathering evidence to confirm competency across the Scottish Special Constabulary, discussed in Chapter 8. This evidence-centric style of training special constables also has potential to be modified and tailored towards different types of special constable based on their own interests and motivations. Future Probationers, for example, are more likely to want to feel as though their volunteering experience is preparing them for employment as a regular constable, and generating a body of evidence that could confirm this would provide them with a pathway towards feeling

confident that they were ready to become a police officers. For Career Specials, who are perhaps more interested in connecting with specific parts of policing following their own interests values, the sort of evidence they gather could be more aligned to community or local approaches to policing, demonstrating their ability to act as the bridge between the community and the policing organisation (Dickson, 2019). Recent literature around the Special Constabulary in England and Wales has pointed towards the importance of training in the experience of the special constable (Whittle, 2012; Britton and Callender, 2017). Notably, volunteers' experience is enhanced when their volunteering feels more tailored to their own values and feels personalised to their own wants and needs (Bainard and Siplon, 2004; Hagar and Brudney, 2008). By ensuring that training is structured with their wants and needs in mind - through placing motivation at the heart of their training - the experience and feelings of worth of the special constable can be enhanced, alongside working towards a quasi-qualification which confers a status of competence or, in England, independence, upon them. Personalising volunteer experience enhances satisfaction and feelings of worth (Bainard and Siplon, 2004), and ensuring that the management surrounding the Special Constabulary pays attention personal motivation, volunteering experiences can be enhanced.

Future Probationers, as volunteers seeking future employment with the police, could benefit from knowing that their time spent volunteering structured in a way that provides greater evidence to improve their chances of employment. Research has touched upon the inconsistency of training volunteers as a limitation to the potential pathway towards policing (Callender et al, 2018). By relying on evidence to develop a measurement of competency, via SOLAP, this training could be taken into consideration when transition from volunteer to regular. Future Probationers will feel as though the policing organisation is working with them, though their volunteering, to prepare them for future employment. Adopting this training model, focused on independence as an outcome, in Scotland, as suggested as above, could enhance Scottish Future Probationer experience, and make them feel that their volunteering experiences are more personalised based on their desires and expectations for their volunteering.

Career Specials, on the other hand, may not necessarily benefit from the reshaping of a training regime focused on preparing special constables for future careers in policing. For them, shaping the training around improving opportunities to express their values, defined by them at

the outset of their training, could provide policing organisations with another strategy to enhance their feelings of value. Community-orientated, altruistically driven volunteers have a different understanding of the sort of role they should be playing than egoistically motivated volunteers, and as such, exposing Career Specials to the sorts of tasks that Future Probationers may find meaningful will not necessarily yield the same fulfilling experience for both types of volunteer. Alexander (2000) acknowledges that motivation should play a role in the organisation and management of the Special Constabulary, addressing this issue by proposing different streams of special constables, structured around the needs of special constables as defined by their motivations. He determines that this dual pathway for volunteers would enhance experience to ensure value for money across policing organisations. In light of this study's findings, Alexander's (ibid) more bespoke style of structure and management within the Special Constabulary would be a welcome addition to ensure that motivation to volunteer is at the core of volunteers' experiences; resources will be maximised, and that special constables will derive more meaning from their volunteering. Ramshaw and Cosgrove (2019) draw attention to the fluid and dynamic nature of volunteering motivation, and the above recommendation account for this fluidity. As expressed in Chapters 10 and 11, volunteering motivation can shift throughout the life course of their volunteering. Building an appropriate structure for managing volunteers based on motivation involves policing organisations engaging with special constables, understanding what sort of outcomes they expect from their volunteering. By listening to volunteers and acknowledging those motivations, policing organisations can shape expectations to create goals mutually accepted between the volunteer and the policing organisation and ensure that volunteers have opportunities to achieve those goals.

There is a concern here; one might wonder why, after two decades since their publication, Alexander's recommendations have not been adopted by any policing organisations; at least not in any Special Constabulary identified by this study. It raises the question as to how far policing organisations value improving the experiences of special constables, or how receptive they are to altering their structures or policy to cater to volunteer's motivations and expectations. Given the research questions posed for the purposes of this study, this thesis cannot provide any more insights to answer that question. What this study has done is confirm Alexander's (2000) conclusions, that bespoke and tailored volunteering structures within policing could be used to enhance volunteer experience and commitment, and recommends that if police organisations are

determined to enhance the experience of their volunteers, they must consider their individual volunteer motivations and manage volunteer expectations in a more democratic and dynamic way. Policing represents a demanding and high-pressure environment. Sometimes, there will be scenarios where the role of the special constable is to be simply another body, or 'walking corroboration' as was found in Chapter 8, when the going gets tough. However, in scenarios where they are afforded time, and flexibility can be achieved, having plans in place to expose special constables to new and meaningful experiences could enhance commitment and satisfaction across these volunteers. Opportunities to engage with volunteers, and to construct their volunteering experiences and development in relation to their individual motivations can only aid in the enhancement of the special constable's experience within the policing organisation.

Motivation is the core feature which ties together the complex individual experiences that shape volunteer's perceptions about what they see as meaningful in volunteering (Yeung, 2004). Ignoring motivation when managing volunteers is to ignore the source of volunteer's expectations and the driving force behind the way the volunteer defines importance in their contribution. Ensuring that motivation is considered in the construction, and the development of the management of individual special constables is crucial in improving their experiences, and in doing so, improving the availability of a resource which provides additional value to policing organisations, further support for police officers, and additional policing for the communities they serve. The emerging research around the role of volunteering in policing being conducted in England and Wales, and the claims made now in this thesis have some influence on the decisions of future policy focused on improving the recruitment and retention of special constables. However, with these messages echoing the warning which seem to have gone unheeded for the last twenty years (Alexander, 2000), it remains to be seen how impactful these studies, and the messages that are put forward here, will be in improving the way that police organisation manages the motivations of their volunteers.

12.5 Conclusion

This chapter draws together the findings of this thesis and highlights its core messages. It demonstrates the importance of viewing the special constable as an individual volunteer, with motivations and desires unique to them; seeing the special constable as a volunteer first, and a

policing resource second, is crucial in better understanding the ways in which they interact and appreciate their contribution to the policing organisation. Thinking about special constables in this way can allow policing organisations to better construct their management of currently serving volunteers and ensure that future structures and practices of recruitment and management can improve the experience of future generations of special constables.

On the subject of volunteering, this thesis confirms many of the assertions made by authors in the field of volunteering motivations and uses the context of the Special Constabulary to consider the unique interactions between volunteer motivation, formal hierarchy, and complex organisation structures and frameworks. That said, given the subjective and dynamic nature of volunteer motivation, this study perhaps represents a departure point for considering the nebulous experiences that police volunteering can have on the motivations of special constables.

In summary, this study presents the experiences of special constables as a journey; each special constable joins the policing organisation based on their own motivation and develops their own expectations, and over time, their interactions with the policing environment mould their experiences in unique and personal ways. This journey is shaped both by the individual volunteers' desires and motivations, and by the features and structures of policing within which those motivations must be pursued. This thesis highlights the importance of the agent (the special constables) and the structure (the policing organisation) in the construction of the role identities and the values which special constables interact with during their volunteering experiences. Following these findings, this study argues that there is a need to develop a more robust structure within which volunteers -with their own sets of desires, attitudes, and values - can their potential within the policing environment. Not only will this enhance volunteering experience and subsequent recruit and retention of special constables, but it will allow police organisations to reap greater rewards from a more energised group of volunteers, who place see their role a genuine and meaningful contribution to the policing organisations they contribute to.

Chapter 13: Conclusion to the Thesis

This thesis has placed itself at the intersection between volunteering and policing; two fields which each have their own rich research traditions and established literatures. This thesis aimed to contribute to the emerging body of work in the United Kingdom which seeks to better understand where these two worlds meet. To do so, it has identified the spaces in which police volunteering literature could be enhanced; expanding the understanding of the nature of police volunteering by reflecting on the features of both volunteering and policing which impacted upon the volunteers' experiences and perceptions of the role that they play within UK policing.

This study set out to explore the impact of the different volunteering characteristics of special constables on their volunteering experience, role, and identity. By collecting characteristic data from the special constables in relation to their demographics, and also around their motivations and desires, this study has shown that various different features of the volunteer's journey into and through police volunteering impacts upon their experience within the policing organisation. By reflecting on volunteer motivation specifically, this thesis has built upon the understanding within volunteering literature that motivation contributes to volunteer's perceived value, identity, and role within their volunteering role. Using motivation as a key indicator of volunteering experience, its findings expand upon the established knowledge of volunteering; using motivation to characterise volunteers within a specific volunteering identity. This study has found that motivation plays a key role in defining the sort of activity that special constables understand as valuable or important; the norms or ideological importance they construct as members of the police service; the way they interact with cultural symbols and behaviours, and with other members of the policing organisation; and the roles they construct for themselves as police volunteers. Further still, this thesis has considered these features of volunteer motivation comparatively within different organisational contexts, and uncovered features of the Special Constabulary which can be universally applied across various policing organisations, as well as highlighted how individual policing organisations and their structure features contextualise these features in different ways. Fundamentally, this thesis has found that motivation does not simply impact upon the experience of volunteers within the policing organisation across the United Kingdom but, in the case of special constables, it defines it. It provides the basis for a means to categorise special constables, which this thesis has done

through the construction of working typology of special constables in Chapter 10; which represents novel attempt to provide a framework for understanding special constables as actors within the policing organisation inherently defined by their own motivations.

Despite the growing literature around police volunteering within the United Kingdom, this study represents the first of its kind, exploring the nature of police volunteering and the policing organisations impact on their experiences in a comparative context. This thesis has shown that both organisational and cultural features of policing, in different UK contexts, impacts upon volunteer experiences. The policing organisation, as the stage upon which this volunteering activity takes place, shapes the context for the volunteer's experiences. This thesis has confirmed that organisational features of policing – the organisational structures, and rules which govern policing practice – play a role in confirming the value which the special constables assign to the tasks they complete, and the degree of importance they place on their policing contribution. Drawing on policing culture literature, this thesis confirms the interactionist perspectives on police culture. By presenting special constables as actors within a socially constructed 'habitus' interacting with the culturally defined occupational 'field' of policing, this thesis argues the case that the special constables represent their own unique culture; defined relative to, but not identical, to the persistent policing cultures within the UK. This aspect of the study represents a unique perspective on police culture, exploring the impacts that these cultural features of policing have on volunteering members of policing organisations.

The typology of special constables constructed and explored in Chapters 10 and 11, provides a unique understanding of the way that volunteers can be categorised with the organisations that they volunteer within. For the first time within the field, this study represents an attempt to generate an analytical and exploratory tool which can be applied in various policing contexts. It provides a deeper understanding of the expressed values and role that the special constables construct within the policing organisation. Further still, by considering the temporal dimensions of the special constables journey, this study provides examples of the way that volunteering experience, and time spent contributing as a volunteer, leads to a shift in motivation and, consequently, can lead to a shift in values and role which the volunteers perceive. Special constables, as a case study in volunteering, has allowed this typology to be contextualised and explored further, developing unique insights into the nature of volunteering; and specifically

expands understandings of the way that special constables identify and express their values, and define their volunteering identity.

This study has not been without it challenges and limitations, but the findings that it has produced - as an ambitious, mixed-methods, comparative study - enhance understandings of policing, volunteering, and police volunteering specifically. It provides policing organisations with important insights into volunteer management, particularly around the managing of motivations to enhance the recruitment and retention of special constables. At a time when the number of special constables is, across the UK, in general decline, this study contributes to the contemporary effort to explain, and mitigate, this falling numbers of special constables, and reflect on their volunteering experience to suggest new ways to combat this decline . Whereas, in England and Wales, this represents another contribution growing body of research in this field, in Scotland, this study represents the first substantial study into police volunteering experiences. In the context of UK policing, the findings in this study give these ongoing discussions an important and developed insight into the nature of police volunteering, and contributes to attempts to enhance police management practices, to enhance the numbers and experiences of the Special Constabulary as valued members of the extended policing family.

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Appendix A: Survey Questionnaire

Questions for Volunteers in Policing Online Self-Completion Questionnaire

Q: What is your current age?

(Box for input of age)

Q: What age did you join the Special Constabulary?

(Box for input of age)

Q: How many years (in total) have you spent in the Special Constabulary?

(Box for input of years)

Q: How many hours a week, on average, do you spend on duty as a Special Constable?

(Box for input of hours)

Q: How would you describe your gender?

(Tickboxes).

- Male,
- Female,
- Transgender,
- Other (box to disclose if participant is willing), Prefer not to disclose.

Q: How would you describe your ethnicity?

(Tickboxes).

- White British,
- White Irish,
- Any Other White Background (box for participant to disclose if willing),
- Indian,
- Pakistani,
- Chinese,
- Any Other Asian Background (box for participant to disclose if willing),
- Caribbean,
- African,
- Any other Black background (box for participant to disclose if willing).
- Any Other Mixed Background (White and Black Caribbean for example) (box for participant to disclose if willing),
- Other Ethnic Group (box for participant to disclose if willing),
- Other (box for participant to disclose if willing)

Q: Other than working for the Special Constabulary, are you employed?

(Tickboxes)

- Yes
- No

Q: If yes to above, what type of employed are you in? If you are employed by more than one employer, select the option which represents the work you are involved in for the longest amount of time per week.

(Tickboxes)

- Full-time
- Part-time
- Self-employed
- Other (box to disclose if willing)
- Prefer not to say

Q: If the answer to question (referring to employment) is yes, what would you describe your current occupations as? (E.g. Doctor, Teacher, Chef Etc.)

(Box for participant to specify if willing)

Q: Apart from the Special Constabulary, are there any other volunteering activities you are involved with at least once a month?

(Tickboxes)

- Yes (box to specify if willing)
- No.

Q: In a normal week for you, in what sort of environment would you say you spent most of your time?

(Tick Boxes)

- Very Rural (very detached from cities or large towns)
- Rural (not near cities or large towns)
- Suburban (near cities or large towns)
- Urban (within cities or large towns)

Q: Which of these do you think is the most important reason you had for becoming a Special Constable? (tick one)

- To improve my employability with the police
- To learn more about policing
- To give back to/serve my community
- To make friends/for social reasons
- To learn and improve more skills
- Other (if other, please specify)

Q: Which of these do you think is the most important reason you have for remaining a Special Constable? (tick one)

- To improve my employability with the police
- To learn more about policing
- To give back to/serve my community
- To make friends/for social reasons
- To learn and improve more skills
- Other (if other, please specify)

Q: What sort of task have you performed on duty as a Special Constable in the past 3 months? *(Tick all that apply).*

(Tickboxes)

- Patrolling Work
- Community Engagement (community visits, working with youth, etc.)
- Dealing with individual emergency incidents
- Addressing and investigation anti-social behaviour
- Policing events
- Executing warrants
- Speed/Traffic enforcement
- Plain-clothes operations
- Responding to large-scale emergency incidents
- Other (Please Specify)

Q: From the same list, in your own opinion, rank these policing tasks from most to least important. (1 being the most important, 9 being the least important)

(Tickboxes)

- Patrolling Work
- Community Engagement (community visits, working with youth, etc.)
- Dealing with individual emergency incidents
- Addressing and investigation anti-social behaviour
- Policing events
- Executing warrants
- Speed/Traffic enforcement
- Plain-clothes operations
- Responding to large-scale emergency incidents

Q: Which tasks do you find the most and the least enjoyable whilst on duty as Special Constable?

(Input boxes)

- Most enjoyable (box to disclose)
- Least enjoyable (box to disclose)

Q: How far do you agree with this statement?

'My time in the Special Constabulary has lived up to my expectations when I joined/has allowed me to achieve my goals'

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Q: If you could change one thing about the Special Constabulary, what would it be, and why?

- What would you change?
- Why would you change it?

Which of these statements do you most agree with?

- The police have the right to use force when necessary.
- If all the proper, formal procedures have been followed, the use of force is acceptable.
- Using force should be kept to a minimum, and only used in extreme circumstances
- The police should not have the right to use force unless defending themselves or others.

Q: Which of these descriptions do you think best describes police work?

- Enforcing the Law and catching criminals
- Maintaining control and ensuring order
- Helping the community deal with local issues
- Setting important targets and achieving those goals.

Q: Have you ever been required to use force whilst on duty?

- Yes
- No
- Rather not say

Q: If yes, could you give an example of the most recent time you used force whilst on duty (e.g. Restraining and individual)?

- (Box for specification)
- Rather not say

Q: If no, in what situation do you think you would be most likely to use force whilst on duty (e.g. restraining an individual)?

- (Box for specification)
- Don't know.

Q: In your opinion, do you think that the police should exercise force more or less often than they do currently?

- More often
- Less Often
- We use enough
- No opinion

Q: In your own words, what role do Special Constables play within the policing organisation?

- (Input box for free text response)

Statements to which the answers will be assessed on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree

- **Whilst on duty as a Special Constable, I feel supported by those within the policing organisation.**
- **The Special Constabulary is a vital link between the police and the community.**
- **The main responsibly of a Special Constable is to enforce the law.**
- **I would rather my family and friends didn't know I was a Special Constable.**
- **If I could, I would give more time to the Special Constabulary.**
- **I don't like the use of the term 'Special' to describe Special Constables.**
- **I apply the skills I have learned in my employment/family life whilst on duty.**
- **The public are often hostile or unwilling to interact with Special Constables.**
- **I get along well with regular police officers I work with.**
- **I think my family and friends are proud of the fact I am a Special Constable.**
- **I always feels as though I have adequate training to deal with any task I face as a Special Constable.**
- **There is a good balance or male and female Special Constables in my force.**
- **I enjoy the time I spend on duty.**
- **Community engagement (school visits, youth work etc.) is the most important part of the Special Constable's role.**
- **Having been a Special Constable, I would join again if I had the chance.**
- **There is a lack of black or ethnic minority Special Constables.**
- **I have a good relationship with the other Special Constables I work with.**

Q: In which division of Police Scotland do you volunteer? (*SCOTLAND ONLY) (*Select one)

- List of Police Scotland's Divisions

Appendix B: Semi-structured Interview Schedules

Special Constable Interview Schedule

Opening

- Introduce purpose of the interview – to learn more about the participant's experiences as a policing volunteering, and to discuss the role that Special Constable play within the policing organisation
- Introduce the motivation of the interview – to gather first-hand perspectives about the Special Constabulary from Special Constables themselves, to provide a more robust understanding of the Special Constabulary to possibly inform future developments within policing volunteering.
- Introduce the time line of the interview – aim to have 30 to 45 minutes discussion about they experiences, but they may speak for as long as they feel it is appropriate, highlight that we aim to spend 15 minutes on each 'section';
    - the first focusing on personal experience of being a volunteer within the Special Constabulary, and.
    - the second focusing on the role that Special Constables play within the organisation.

Section 1; Personal Experience of being a Special Constable

- ***Background***: when did they join the Special Constabulary, **length of service**, always served in this **division**
- ***Joining the Special Constabulary***; understanding the participants **motivation** for joining, their **expectations** upon joining.
    - Were there any **adverse consequences** of joining? Family/friends/internal difficulties
- ***Experiences of the Special Constabulary***; has their **motivation** changed, what aspects do they find **most/least enjoyable,** have your **expectations** been met
    - Why has their **motivation changed/stayed the same**?
    - Why do they **enjoy/dislike** these aspects?
    - Do **expectations** meet **reality?**
- ***Interactions***: do they work with other **Special Constables** on duty, how do they find interacting with **regular officers,** what is the **management** of volunteers like.
    - **Perceptions** of other **Special Constables/regular officers**
    - What makes **good management**?
- ***Perception of their role***; what **role** does the participant **see themselves playing** whilst on duty, what do you **bring to the policing organisation.**
    - Do they think ***all*** Special Constables play this role?
    - What role **should** Special Constables play within the policing organisation (**segue into section 2**)

Section 2; Special Constables within the policing organisation

- ***The Purpose of the Special Constable***; (**continuation from section 1)**, what **should** a Special Constable been used for?
    - Do the police organisation ***need*** Special Constables? **Why?**
    - What do Special Constables **bring** to the policing organisation?
    - Is **community** important to the **Special Constabulary?**
- ***Recognition***: do you feel valued as a Special Constable?
    - Does the policing organisation **recognise** the contribution of the Special Constabulary?
    - Do you ever feel **undervalued** as a volunteering within the policing organisation?
- ***Legitimacy/Competence;*** do you ever feel **underqualified** to carry out any tasks, is there enough **training** for Special Constables?
    - Are you a **volunteer** or a **police officer**? **Both?**
    - **What makes you a police officer? (powers/warrant card/uniform/other?)**

<u>Police Officer Interview Schedule</u>

- Introduce purpose of the interview – to learn more about the participant's perception of the Special Constables that they work alongside, and reflect on their understanding of the Special Constabulary as a feature of the policing organisation
- Introduce the motivation of the interview – to gather first-hand perspectives about the Special Constabulary from the regular officers they work with, to provide a more robust understanding of the Special Constabulary to possibly inform future developments within policing volunteering.
- Introduce the time line of the interview – aim to have 30 to 45 minutes discussion about they experiences, but they may speak for as long as they feel it is appropriate, highlight that we aim to spend 15 minutes on each 'section';
    - the first focusing on personal experience of regular officers who work alongside Special Constables
    - the second focusing on the role that Special Constables play within the organisation.

Section 1; Personal reflections of the Special Constabulary

- ***Background***: Do you personally **work alongside Special Constables**?
    - How **often**?
    - On what **tasks**?
- ***Experience of Special Constables***; do you see/meet Special Constables on the job **regularly**,
    - Do you think they are **hard workers**?
    - What **kind of people** become Special Constables?
- ***Perception of the Special Constable role****; what role do you think the Special Constables play within the policing organisation?*
    - ***Do all*** Specials play this role? Are there different ***types*** of Special Constable?

- ***What role should*** Special Constables be playing in the policing organisation? (**segue to section 2**)

Section 2; Special Constables within the policing organisation

- ***The Purpose of the Special Constable***; (**continuation from section 1)**, what **should** a Special Constable been used for?
  - Do the police organisation ***need*** Special Constables? **Why?**
  - What do Special Constables **bring** to the policing organisation?
  - Is **community** important to the **Special Constabulary?**
- ***Recognition***; Are Special Constables **useful**?
  - Does the policing organisation **recognise** the contribution of the Special Constabulary?
  - What is the **value** of having Special Constables volunteering within the police organisation?
- ***Legitimacy/Competence;*** do you think Special Constables are **qualified** to carry out policing tasks, is there enough **training** for Special Constables?
  - Are Special Constables a **volunteer** or a **police officer**? **Both?**
  - **What makes Special Constables/you (a) police officer(s)? (powers/warrant card/uniform/other?)**

Appendix C: Information Email Circulated to Survey Participants

Volunteering in Policing

Information for Participants

Thank you for taking part in this questionnaire for the Volunteering in Policing project. My name is Graeme Dickson, and I am the Lead Researcher for this project, with is a funded PhD study at the University of Dundee. The project is also carried out in collaboration with the Association of Special Constabulary Chief Officers and is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council.

This study seeks to understand more about the Special Constabulary across the United Kingdom. It focuses on the experiences of Special Constables, with the intention of answering a number of important questions to improve the experiences of the volunteers who give up their valuable time to help their police force, but also to improve the police organisations understanding of their volunteers experiences and well-being. The outcomes of this research hope to inform policing organisations about more effective management and inclusion of their Special Constables and hopes to generate a better insight into what make the Special Constabulary an effective body of volunteers. Your participation in this study will help contribute to a project which seeks to improve the Special Constabulary's experience and enhance the experience of volunteers who choose to devote their time to the Special Constabulary all across the United Kingdom.

The questionnaire should take around 30 minutes to complete. This small commitment of your time would be extremely appreciated, as your insights into your experiences as a Special Constable are invaluable for the purposes of this research. You are not obligated to answer any questions that you do not want to answer, and you may remove yourself from the questionnaire process at any time.

Your participation in this study is voluntary, and there is no obligation for you to complete this questionnaire, however, your participation would help us to generate a wealth of knowledge about the Special Constabulary. All of the data is anonymised and confidential, and there is no risk of any opinions or answers being attributed to you. The data will be held on password protected data files, which would only be accessible by me as the Lead Researcher on the project.

The findings from this questionnaire will provide us with a framework and understanding of the Specials which has never been created before. This is an under researched part of the policing organisation and your participation can help to change that, and by helping us in generating this information about the Specials, this project hopes to understand and advise future change for the benefit of the volunteers who provide this crucial service for the policing organisation.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, you can contact me on the email address provided below. I would love to hear your thoughts and opinions on the project and would be glad to answer any questions you may have concerning the project and our objectives. If you wish to receive updates on the research project and see how your questionnaire is being used in our research process, then you can contact me at any time.

By continuing with this online questionnaire, you are confirming that you have read and understood the following information. Your participation is greatly appreciated, and without it, this project couldn't be possible!

Thank You,

Graeme Dickson,

PhD Researcher, University of Dundee.

Appendix D: Interview Consent Forms

Information and Consent form for Interview Participants

This interview is part of the Volunteering in Policing research project, which is being carried out as part of a PhD study by the University of Dundee, in collaboration with the Association of Special Constabulary Chief Officers. The Lead Research on this project is Graeme Dickson, a PhD Researcher at the University of Dundee. This study seeks to understand more about the experiences of Special Constables across the United Kingdom. Your participation in this study will help contribute to a project which seeks to enhance the experience of volunteers who choose to devote their time to the Special Constabulary all across the United Kingdom. As a participant, you should know.

- Your participation is voluntary, and you are under no obligation to be involved in this research.
- Your participation is anonymous and everything you say is confidential. You will not be named in the research reports or findings, and nothing you say will be associated or attached to your name or personal details. You are free to give as little or as much information as you wish to give without fear that the information will be attributed to you
- You have the right to withdraw your participation at any time. If you feel that you wish the answers you give to remain outside of the research, you are within your rights to ask that the information not be used. You can request to stop the process at any time, either for a break or indefinitely. You are under no obligation to complete the interview, and you will not be penalised for withdrawing your participation. The information you give may be quoted in papers or presentation, but nothing will be directly attributed to you.
- Any information generated by means of this research will be securely stored and filed on a password protected computer, ensuring that the only person who has access to this information is the Lead Researcher, and it will not be shared with any other person who may be able to identify you from your answers. All data will be destroyed upon conclusion of the project.
- The interview will be audio recorded using a digital recording device to allow the researcher to generate a transcript of the interview for the purpose of analysis. This audio device is kept on the Lead Investigators person at all times, and the audio files generated as part of the interview are secured by password protection. You are within your rights to have the recording stopped at any time, and to hear anything you may have said played back to you.
- If you have any questions, you are given the opportunity to ask before and after the interview process. If you have and concerns, you are within your rights to contact the Lead Investigator at any time at the address given below.
- By signing this form, you acknowledge that you have read and understood the above information, and you have been provided the opportunity to ask any questions you may have.

Participant's Signature: _____ Participant's Name: _____

Lead Researcher's Signature: _____ Date of Interview: _____

Graeme Dickson, PhD Researcher, University of Dundee,

Contact: g.dickson@dundee.ac.uk

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Appendix E: Example of Observation Field Notes